Early Islamic Spain

The *History* of Ibn al-Qūṭīya

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Culture and Civilization in the Middle East

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This book is the first published English-language translation of the significant *History of Islamic Spain* by Ibn al-Qūṭīya (d. Cordova 367/977). Including extensive notes and comments, a genealogical table and relevant maps, the text is preceded by a study of the author and his work, and is the only serious examination of the unique manuscript since Pascual de Gayangos' edition in 1868.

Ibn al-Qūṭīya's work is one of the significant and earliest histories of Muslim Spain and an important source for scholars. Although like most Muslims of al-Andalus in this period, Ibn al-Qūṭīya was of European origin, he was a loyal servant of the Iberian Umayyads, and taught Arabic, traditions (*ḥadīth*) and history in the Great Mosque of Cordova. Written at the height of the Umayyad Caliphate of Muslim Spain and Portugal *(al-Andalus),* the *History* describes the first 250 years of Muslim rule in the peninsula. The text, first fully translated into Spanish in 1926, deals with all aspects of life, and includes accounts of Christians, Jews and Muslim converts. Aside from the intrigues of the ruling classes, it also speaks of the lives of lesser inhabitants: servants, minor officials, poets, judges, concubines and physicians.

This book will be of great interest to scholars and students of the history of Spain and Portugal, Islamic history, and Mediaeval European history.

David James was Special Lecturer in Arabic Studies at University College Dublin, where he also taught a course on Islamic Spain. He is the author of *Manuscripts of the Holy Qur'ān from the Mamlūk Era* and has lived and worked in Andalucia for the last ten years.

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The *History* of Ibn al-Qūṭīya

A study of the unique Arabic manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, with a translation, notes and comments

David James

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Contents

Acknowledgments ix
List of maps and illustrations xiii
Explanatory note xvii

Introduction: The History of the *History* 1

Translation: The *History* of Ibn al-Qūṭīya (d. 367/977) 47

Ṭāriq ibn Zīyād invades al-Andalus 49 1
Al-Andalus under the Governors of the Damascus Caliphate (92–136/711–756) 59 2
The Arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya and his Reign as Emir (138–172/756–788) 67 3
The Reign of the Emir Hishām (172–180/788–796) 82 4
The Reign of the Emir al-Ḥakam (180–206/796–822) 86 5
The Reign of the Emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (796–238/822–852) 97 6
The Reign of the Emir Muḥammad (238–273/852–886) 109 7
The Reign of the Emir al-Mundhir (273–275/886–888) 130 8
The Reign of the Emir ʿAbdallāh (275–300/888–912) 133 9
The Reign of the Emir/Caliph ʿAbdal-Raḥmān III (300–350/912–961) 10 140

Appendices 143

Appendix i: The location of the symbol *hā'* in the text of the *History* 143
Appendix ii: The *Banū'l-Qūṭīya, circa.* 107–429/725–1037 and other descendants of Sāra al-Qūṭīya 145
Appendix iii: The *firāsh,* carpet-of-office or throne-of-office (?) for officials of the Umayyad Emirate 147
Appendix iv: *Al-Muṣḥaf alladhī yunsab ilā ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān,* the copy of the Qur'ān of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān in the Great Mosque of Cordova 148
Appendix v: The location of Ṣakhrat *Jawdhārish,* west of Bobastro 150
Appendix vi: The identity of Abū'l-Faḍl ibn Muḥ(ammad) …al-Wazzān 151

Bibliography 154

Acknowledgments

My first encounter with the *History* of Ibn al-Qūṭīya was as a young teacher in Omdurman in the mid-1960s when I bought the 1957 Beirut version of the text edited by ʿAbdallāh Anīs al-Ṭabbāʿ in a Khartoum bookshop. Although I did not realise at the time, it was the beginning of a life-long interest in Islamic Spain. When I became Special Lecturer in Arabic Studies at University College, Dublin, some years later, the Department of Mediaeval History asked me if I would be interested in offering a course on Islamic Spain; a course that I later adapted for the students of Arabic in the Department of Semitic Languages, later re-named Near Eastern Studies. I then read the *History* of Ibn al-Qūṭīya with the final year students as a set book.

As there was no English translation of the text at the time, the idea of producing one was always in my mind. But I did not get down to the task until several years ago, after going to live in Ronda in 1997 and being inspired by living in a town which for centuries had been part of al-Andalus.

At the time, I was not aware of J.M.Nichols's unpublished 1975 English translation of the text. Nichols's translation was a doctoral thesis for the University of North Carolina and was based on al-Ṭabbāʿ's 1957 edition, and that of Gayangos/Ribera, 1868/1926. Although accessible it was never formally published. It is a perfectly good piece of work, with an excellent introduction, and I have referred to it on numerous occasions in the preparation of my own version. Since the edition of al-Ṭabbāʿ there has been another one, by Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, published in Cairo and Beirut in 1982, which gives some new suggestions for the readings of certain parts of the text. But I have used all the printed editions from that of Cherbonneau, 1853–1856 onwards, and compared them with the unique manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

After the 1868 edition of the entire text published in Madrid by Gayangos, later editors seemed to have referred only to that, or the copy made by the Spanish nineteenth-century scholar, Eduardo Saavedra, now in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, rather than the original manuscript in Paris. All the twentieth-century editions contain certain errors due to mis-readings of the Paris text, and some parts of that text have been accidentally omitted. Furthermore, none of the editors mentions the unusual way in which the text of the Paris manuscript is presented by the scribe. I have dealt with this in the

Introduction, but it is something that will, I think, bear further investigation. Several of the editors and most scholars who have worked from these printed editions mention an orthographic peculiarity, which has elicited considerable discussion, but does not, in fact, exist in the Paris manuscript.

In addition to Nichols's translation, and probably even more helpful for the background of the author and his life and times, has been the excellent study of the *History* published by María Isabel Fierro, in 1989.

The text of the *History* is one of the earliest accounts of the Emirate of Cordova, composed by a scholar of Visigothic descent. His view is not impartial: he was a loyal servant of the Umayyad emirs. But he does give a picture of al-Andalus that embraces more than just the activities of the Muslim ruling classes, discussing the Iberian coverts *(Muwallads),* and mentioning events involving both the Christians and Jews who lived in al-Andalus.

His sources are mentioned only in part but he was the recipient of much oral, and probably written, information. The text was delivered in the form of 'lectures' to several generations of students, perhaps from notes, though he was renowned for quoting from copious memory. Whether he ever 'wrote up' the notes and records as a book is not clear. Although his name appears on the text, it may be the work of a student. Moreover, the sole surviving text in Paris was probably not the only version in circulation. Several later mediaeval authors quote Ibn al-Qūṭīya at considerable length, and much of this quoted material appears in the surviving text either in abbreviated form, or not at all.

No one however, quotes the text by the name we now know it, the *Ta'rīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, 'The History of the Conquest of al-Andalus', and it is not clear whether later Muslim authors refer to a written version, notes of students, or the memories of his listeners, passed on in later years. We shall probably never know. We are lucky even to have the text as it exists: a unique survival of the ruin of 'al-Andalus'—Islamic Spain and Portugal. So many texts were lost in the civil wars that followed the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordova, the Christian conquest of al-Andalus, and the massive destruction and neglect of the written heritage after 1492. The outstanding and distinguished efforts of generations of Spanish scholars to re-discover their lost heritage has more than made up for the neglect, and to a lesser extent the loss, of so much material. I acknowledge my own debt to all those who have written about Ibn al-Qūṭīya and the history of al-Andalus in the second/eighth, third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.

In preparing this text, the introduction and notes, I have been greatly helped by Geoffrey Roper, from whom I have regularly requested

information both verbal and written. I give him my grateful thanks for all his help; and for reading the Introduction and offering some useful suggestions. My thanks, also, for the regular and generous hospitality offered by both Geoffrey and his wife Daphne on my visits to London. I would also like to thank my son Murad, for the benefit of his outstanding computer expertise, which on several occasions has saved this text from disappearing into the oblivion of cyberspace.

I thank also Professor Joaquin Vallvé Bermejo for answering my questions about the location of Bobastro, François Déroche and Marie-Geneviève Guesdon for answering some technical queries about the Paris manuscript, Raymond Mercier for information about the eclipse of 218/833 and Professor David King who answered some other questions relating to the text. Also to Séamus Gaffney for his comments on horses and horsemanship as mentioned in the text.

My thanks go to Ian Netton, general editor of the series of which this work is part; to Joe Whitting of Routledge for his helpful advice when I first approached him with my proposal for the book; and to Suzanne Chilestone of Routledge for her editorial assistance and advice.

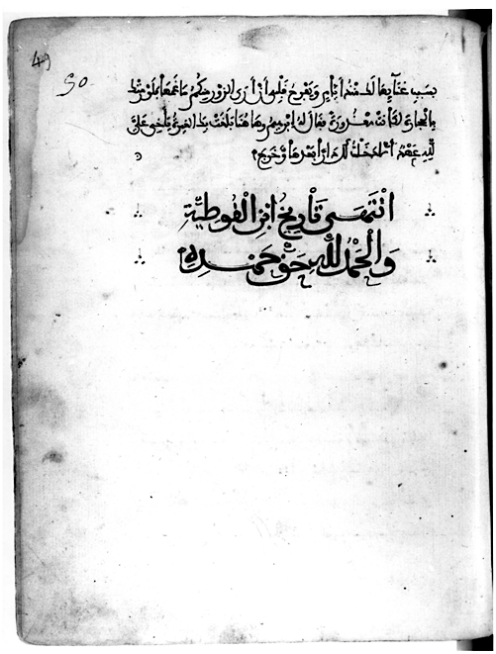
Finally my thanks to Barbara and her family, without whose generosity, I could not have completed this work which was begun in Ronda and continued in Cordova, Paris, London and Eastbourne.

David James

Ronda—*Runda al-Maḥrūsa*, 2008

Maps and illustrations

The Peninsula in Visigothic times and the probable routes of Ṭāriq and Mūsa 48
The Emirate of Cordova and its provinces 62
Cordova in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries 96
The area of the campaigns against Ibn Ḥafṣūn and the citadel of Bobastro 134



Frontispiece: the final pages of text, containing part of the anecdote concerning *Bazīʿa* the concubine and singer, and the colophon of the manuscript, giving the name of the work as *Taʾrīkh Ibn al-Qūṭiya*, the *History of Ibn al-Qūṭiya*. Black *mujawhar* or *mabsūṭ* script with a red triple-dot motif at the end of some lines on European papers of *circa* 1350–1450, Granada or Morocco. *Bibliothèque Nationale de France,* Paris, MS Arabe 1867, folios 49 verso-50 recto. (Reproduced with permission of the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*.)

Explanatory Note

Place names appear in both their Arabic and Spanish forms when first mentioned in the text, thus: *Urjudhūna* [Archidona]. From then on, only the Spanish form is given. If there is a commonly used Anglicised form, i.e. Cordova, Saragossa, Seville, I have used this. But when referring to modern Spanish provinces, I have used the Spanish form, i.e. Sevilla.

Dates are normally given in their *Hijrī* form followed by the Common Era (CE) date: 367/977, unless they have no specifically Islamic relevance.

Introduction

The History of the *History*

The manuscript

There is only one manuscript copy of the *History,* MS 1867 in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris whose only reliable title is that given by the anonymous scribe in his colophon *Ta'rīkh Ibn al-Qūṭīya*, 'The History of Ibn al-Qūṭīya'. All other versions are derived from that unique manuscript. These are: MS 996 Leiden; MS 987 Munich; MS 4996 Madrid; MS *Ta'rīkh* 2837, Cairo.[1] In the most serious study of the *History* published so far, María Isabel Fierro comes to this conclusion. After examining all the evidence, she convincingly dismisses all editions of the text which, until the publication of her study of Ibn al-Qūṭīya and his *History* in 1989, were thought to be based —somehow—on variants of the text that have disappeared. Thus, the un-dated Cairo edition of ʿAbd al-Muṭʿāl al-Kutubī (*al-Tawfīq* Press) is only a reprint of the 1889 Paris partial edition of Houdas, while the 'editor' is actually the bookseller.[2] Similarly, the partial edition published in 1952 by Muḥammad ibn ʿAzzūz, supposedly based on another 'lost' manuscript, is, according to Fierro's findings, also based on Houdas's edition of the Paris manuscript.[3]

The only 'hard' evidence for the existence of a second copy of Ibn al-Qūṭīya's work has always been the rumour—repeated by almost all scholars who have studied the *History*—of one which Cherbonneau is said to have found in Constantine in Algeria and used for his partial translations published in Paris in 1853 and 1856.[4] However, when we come to look at what Cherbonneau actually wrote in the *Journal Asiatique* of 1853, the Constantine manuscript disappears like a mirage of the Saharan desert. Cherbonneau says that he worked *only* on the Paris manuscript, MS Arabe 706, located in those days of the Second Empire at the re-named Bibliothèque Impériale.[5] In his article he does, it is true, refer to *a* manuscript in Constantine. He says that Sidi Hamouda ben El ferkoun has a copy of the grammatical work *Kitāb taṣārīf al-afʿāl* of Ibn al-Qūṭīya in his fine collection of manuscripts.[6] But there is *no* mention of another copy of the *History*.[7] The first person to mention that Cherbonneau used a copy of the *History* that he had found in Constantine seems to have been Houdas in a footnote to his 1889 partial edition. This has been repeated ever since.[8]

Codicology

The covers

The manuscript was rebound in 1976, so the covers are modern. The original binding still exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale, though its precise date is unclear. It is an Islamic half-binding covered with European marbled papers. A notice which was probably attached to the original binding has been pasted inside the current front cover and gives a seventeenth- or early eighteenthcentury catalogue number 764, and a short Latin description. The author is called 'Ibn El Kautir', corrected to ʿKouthyia. On the same notice is a note mentioning Reinaud and *Invasions des Sarrazins en France,* page 6, which is a reference to the manuscript in Reinaud's book.

The paper

The paper is a thick, laid, polished European variety, cream in colour, though some folios have been stained a brownish-pink. There are chain-lines 5.05 cm apart and three separate watermarks are visible:

1 A three-humped mountain symbol with a base line, cut at the corners at angles of 45° within a circle. The circle may have been surmounted by a cross, though only a short vertical stroke is visible. This is the commonest of all watermarks. Briquet notes many, but fewer than ten with the symbol enclosed within a circle. The earliest is from Navarre, dated 1391 (11.851) and the latest from Damme, dated 1469 (11.897); other examples come from Genoa. Valls i Subirà notes two similar marks from Catalonia: Olot, dated 1328 (1686) and Vic, dated 1356 (1688).
2 A two-wheeled wagon, whose distinguishing feature is the X-shaped spokes of the wheels. Briquet notes four with the same X-shapes: Perpignan, dated 1412, Genoa, dated 1414, Sion, dated 1434 and Palermo, dated 1444 (3,527, 3,542, 3,529, 3,531).
3 A short-horned four-legged unicorn. Briquet notes one which looks similar: Udine, dated 1443 (9962).[9]

The bi-folios are in gatherings (quires) of five, each including one bi-folium of the stained paper, and there are ten gatherings, folios 1–50. Each folio measures 25.5×20 cm. The stitching is modern, but the original holes made by the needle can still be seen and the sewing seems to have been at eight stations (sewing points).

The script

Folio 1 recto has a note in a *maghribī* hand mentioning the the work of Ibn al-Qūṭīya but not the *Akhbār majmūʿa* [*fī fatḥ / iftitāḥ al-Andalus*], *which is* bound along with it. There are some scrawled lines and an illegible calligraphic signiature; only the name 'Ḥasan' seems clear. At the top of the folio is a charm addressed to the King of the Cockroaches: *Yā Kabakīj*! to keep away paper-eating insects. On the verso side are several lines of unidentified verse, written in a rough *maghribī* hand.

Folio 2 recto contains the words, *Ta'rīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus li-Ibn al-Qūṭīya*, 'The History of the Conquest of al-Andalus by Ibn al-Qūṭīya', inscribed in a large bold *maghribī* hand. This is in two lines with four decorative motives—triple-circles with central dots. There is also a note mentioning the transfer of the manuscript to a new owner; *Intaqala'l-milk Abī'l-Faḍl*: 'Ownership transferred to Abū'l-Faḍl', and the red stamp of the Bibliothèque Royale and the number 706 together with another, 7(23?), which has been crossed out.

The text commences on folio 2 verso with the *basmalah* and words in praise of the Prophet and his Companions. Directly underneath the text begins with the words *Akhbarana Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz* in two lines in a calligraphic style with red decorative motifs.

Unlike most mediaeval Arabic texts, whatever their subject matter, these opening lines come directly to the point. Most authors begin with a passage in praise of God and the Prophet, his Companions, etc., followed by the formula, *wa-baʿd fa-qāla/yaqūl…* ('Then [the author] said/says…'), followed by an explanation of how he came to write the work, culminating with the expression *fa-sammaytuhu…,* 'I called it…'. None of this is present here. Furthermore, unlike most Arabic histories, the text is not divided up into years and reigns, introduced by an appropriate heading. There are only very occasional 'headings', which introduce a following passage rather than being part of it. But these are not differentiated from the other 'key words' (see next section) by being in a space to themselves, as occurs in some other manuscripts.[10] In fact the only way in which the text conforms to what later became well established norms—apart from the opening *basmalah*—is by giving a colophon on folio 50 recto which states: *Intahā ta'rīkh Ibn al-Qūṭīya, al-ḥamdulillāh waḥdahu*: 'The *History* of Ibn al-Qūṭīya is finished. Thanks be to God alone', which is also written in a

calligraphic style with decorative motifs, like the beginning of the text. Often, but by no means always, a colophon may include the name of the scribe and the date of copying: rarely is the place of completion given. Here we have only the title.

The folios have been numbered more than once, but the official BN numbering is the one written in ink, and is the one I have used here, throughout. The edition of Gayangos/Ribera does not give the folio numbers of the manuscript. There, the Arabic text is numbered pages 1–117, and the Spanish translation pages 1–101.

The *Ta'rīkh Ibn al-Qūṭīya* is followed by the text of the *Akhbār majmūʿa,* which terminates on folio 118 recto. There is a purchase note in two lines of maghribī, stating: 'This book was legally purchased by meanest slave of God and the least of his slaves Abū'l-Faḍl ibn Muḥ…al-Wazzān/al-Wazzānī(?)…. The name has been erased with a wet finger, but it is the same Abū'l-Faḍl that we find at the beginning of the manusript. Folio 118 verso has the first lines of several poems, together with the names of the poets: Zāhī, ʿAlqama, Ṭarfa….[11]

The text area measures 19×13 cm, with interlinear spacing of 1.02 cm. There are no impressed guidelines on the paper and there are no catch-words in the lower inside margins, by which scribes kept track of the order of the text. The script is an excellent *maghribī* book-hand, *mujawhar* or possibly *mabṣūṭ* written with a fine pen, probably metal. The vowels are written with the same pen, with the vowel signs *fatḥa* and kasra signs at an angle of 45°, rather than being written horizontally, as is often the case in manuscripts from North Africa. Another pen was used to write the 'key words' and 'significant words', of which there are many in the text. These are written in a large black *maghribī* hand, twice the size of the script used for the main text. When writing the main text, the scribe left spaces for the words in the larger script to be inserted. In several instances at the beginning of the text, some of these spaces have not been filled in, leaving a small number of blanks in the text.

Key words and significant words

‘Key words’ mark the beginning of anecdotes and general historical information. ‘Significant words’ draw attention to important people mentioned in an anecdote or piece of information. These are all written using a larger pen. On some folios there are several key words, which mark the beginnings of short pieces of information, while on others there are none, or very few, because the anecdote/information was quite long; as in the story of Ṭālūt’s appearance before al-Ḥakam, or the Viking invasion, or the story of Ḥāmid and Qawmis.[12] These contain no keywords after the opening ones, though the anecdote may include some some ‘significant words’ in the form of proper names. Obviously a student taking down the original relation would not have had time to change pens—and inkwells if he was using several colours—every few minutes. He would simply have drawn a line over the intial words of each anecdote or piece of information. Then, when another copy was made the words could be written with a bigger pen, or in a different coloured ink.

In the accompanying translation I have separated all these passages that begin with a ‘key word’—marking the beginning of an anecdote, or relation—with an interlinear asterisk.

Corrections and Lacunae

At several points in the text corrections have been added in the margins, each one bearing the expression *ṣaḥḥ*, correct. At one point a line has been missed out and written in the margin with the expression *ṣaḥḥ aṣlan*, 'correct as in the original'. These carefully written corrections seem to have been made by the scribe. There are tiny 'angle' signs at the points in the text where these corrections should go, and where the expression *ṣaḥḥ* is also written. There is only one marginal note, a later comment in a different hand, on the lines recited by ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdallāh after being forced to swear an oath on a copy of the Qur'ān.[13]

There are 12 blank spaces between folios 2 verso and 9. recto apparently distributed at random. The reason for this—it seems to me—is that the scribe originally planned to insert the key/significant words in three colours, black, red and blue, as in the *Akhbār majmū'a* text, but red and blue inks were not available so he only used black and left blank the spaces where he planned to use red and blue later. Then, shortly afterwards he decided to use only black but did not get round to filling in the blanks that he had left. It is not a question of his not being able to read the text he was copying; even without the words we can even guess, in most cases, what they would have been.

The use alkh, *'etc.'*

The presence of the abbreviation *alkh* (meaning *il*ā *ā**khirihi* 'to the end', or 'etc.', 'and-so-on') has been referred to by several scholars. Gayangos inserts the expression into his edition of the text at 11 points. Al-Ṭabbāʿ notes its use on a few occasions but makes no comment. Al-Abyārī, notes its use nine times in his edition.

The purpose of this expression has been explained in different—and conflicting—ways. Al-Abyārī, believed the expression marked parts of the text which the student/transmitter of Ibn al-Qūṭīya took from the *Fatḥ al-Andalus* of ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/852) and the works of Muḥammad al-Rāzī and his son Aḥmad (d. 344/955) to compare the different versions. Chalmeta believed that its use marked points in the text where the author did not wish to repeat information that was already known. According to Chalmeta, as an akhbārī, Ibn al-Qūṭīya, was only interested in unrecorded information. Fierro pointed out that he did in fact record information that was already known in his day, and came up with her own more complex explanations.[14] All of these theories are based on the Gayangos/ Ribera edition of the text.

However, the expression *alkh* does not appear in the Paris manuscript anywhere. Nor does it appear in Gayangos/Saavedra's copy of the Paris manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid—anywhere. What appears in both is the letter *hā'* and as this appears at several of the points (though not all) where Gayangos/Ribera and al-Abyārī say *alkh* appears, I can only presume that *hā'* substituted for *alkh* (even though in most instances *hā'* has been left out altogether). But *alkh* does not have the same meaning as *hā'*.[15]

Alkh can only mean *et cetera:* in other words, that there is more information but the writer does not choose to give it. *Hā',* on the other hand has several meanings. It is the standard abbreviation for the word *intahā,* 'to be finished'. It is employed, in this capacity, to indicate one of the following: the end of a passage; a paragraph mark; a text divider. It can also mean that what preceeds the symbol has been abbreviated. This is often indicated by *hā' alif (intahā ikhtiṣār).*[16]

But *hā'* does *not* mean the same as the symbol *alkh,* and the use of *alkh* in all the printed editions of the *History* is an error. *Hā'* has been used more 30 times in the text and has more than one function.

It is well known in calligraphy and was often placed at the end of an aphorism, verse, exclamation, or similar. In the text of the *History* we find it similarly used after several phrases that act as introductions to

anecdotes or sections of the text: *min akhbār al-Ṣumayl*, 'An anecdote about al-Ṣumayl', for example. It also occurs immediately before several verses of poetry where the author says: *fa-inshada:* …, ('so he recited…'), or something similar. These may not indicate the end of the anecdote, but may serve a decorative function. Sometimes it also occurs after the end of the verse. It is also used in the *Akhbār majmūʿa* in ways similar to those found in the *History,* including the purely decorative.

But its main use in the text seems to be to show where an anecdote, or piece of information ends. Most of these passages begin with a 'key word' in the larger hand and then continue, normally without any other 'key words' in the text until we reach the end of the piece which terminates with *hā'*. On the few occasions where there appears be no key word, the key word may be the previous one indicated, though to my understanding, there does not appear to be a connection.

In most instances, the symbol clearly marks the end of something: but of what, is the question. There are several options. It could indicate the end of a quotation or summarised quotation from an earlier author like Ibn Ḥabīb, most of whose works are lost; or Muḥammad al-Rāzī, none of whose works still exist. Ibn Ḥabīb died in 238/852 so anything written after the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, who died in the same year, must be from al-Rāzī or some other historian. As the work of both scholars is known only through quotations in the works of later authors it is difficult to know whether any of these passages, ending in *hā'*, are from the works of either historian. But if some are from Ibn Ḥabīb why are they not attributed to him? The author had already mentioned Ibn Ḥabīb's *Fatḥ al-Andalus* in the first few pages of the text, so why did he not quote him at these later points?[17]

Were they sections added in by the student/transmitter as al-Abyārī, suggests? But if the work was written down after the death of Ibn al-Qūṭīya in 367/977, by then it was standard practice to name quoted sources. Another explanation may be that the symbol marks the end of parts of the relation that have been summarised or shortened by the transmitter. This would help to explain why we have much longer quotations from Ibn al-Qūṭīya in the works of later historians, which do not appear in the *History*.

But even if the explanation is correct, the question remains: when was this done? What stage does the received text represent in the transmission of the *History*? The Paris manuscript can not have been copied before 700/1300. Did the copyist make the summaries? Or was he copying an already summarised text? Were there other versions in existence based on notes made by those who attended Ibn al-Qūṭīya's sessions of *akhbār*? Well, frankly, it is impossible to know. But on the basis of general scribal, and I emphasise *scribal,* practice, it seems—to

me at least—that the symbol *hā'* indicates the end of a passage that has been quoted from someone other than Ibn al-Qūṭīya, whether the source is given or not. For example, the anecdote about the body in the basket begins with the key words: *Wa-min akhbār 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥakam…annahu,* 'An anecdote about 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥakam is that he…' (folio 29 verso=84,1.15). The anecdote is then given and finishes with *hā'/intahā* (finished) placed after the last word, *al-ra'y* (folio 30 recto= 85,1.15).

It was normal scribal practice from the time of Ibn Ḥayyān to that of al-Maqqarī for quotations in a text to end with the symbol *hā'* and to begin with the name of person being quoted: *Qāla al-Rāzī,* etc.,. …It is true that not all scribes used the symbol, but when several quotations come in succession, as in the case in parts of Ibn Ḥayyān's *al-Muqtabis,* it was not always necessary to mark the end of a quotaton, since another quotation followed immediately.

The text of the *History* is exceptional because the source of a quotation is almost never given. We only know of the beginnings of a new section in the text, which may be a quotation, by the fact that the scribe has used key words to indicate the beginning of a new piece of information, or an anecdote, and where a quotation is given -I suggest —he finishes with the symbol *hā'*. If the anecdote 'The body in the Basket' was not quoted from some other source, why does it end in the symbol *hā'*? Why do all anecdotes and pieces of information not end in *hā'*? Why some and not others? Furthermore, how did the scribe know when to use the symbol, if no source is named at the beginning of the anecdote? This can only be because the symbol was present in the text he was copying and should, logically, originate with information imparted by the author—or possibly a later editor, though one would suppose that later interpolations would quote the source. Therefore, it seems more likely that the anecdotes and information marked by *hā'* go back to the time of Ibn al-Qūṭīya's initial relation. The explanation may be that these passages are all material that was not supplied to Ibn al-Qūṭīya by the four informants whom he mentions at the beginning of the *History,* only one of whom, Ibn Lubāba, does he quote by name in the text. As Ibn Lubāba's information, and by extension that supplied by the other three named informants, does not end in *hā',* it may mean that all those sections which do end in *hā'* represent material obtained from other oral or written sources. It also means that this fact was indicated by Ibn al-Qūṭīya to his circle of listeners.

The anecdotes and pieces of information marked in the text are shown in the Appendices.[18] They include several instances where the use of *hā'* at the end of a heading is probably only decorative.

The origin of the Paris manuscript

The above codicological information, together with what we can glean from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century catalogues of the Bibliothèque Royale can tell us a little more about the manuscript's history. First of all, this is not a run-of-the-mill copy. Both texts in the manuscript are the work of a scribe who, despite his occasional lapses, was a consummate professional. His hand never falters, and the text is very well—even beautifully—copied out. The coloured bi-folios were placed within the gatherings to give maximum decorative effect, even though the final one is ochre-coloured, indicating that the scribe had run out of pink paper. We cannot tell whether this manuscript was copied by a professional scribe as a paid commission, or copied by someone for his own personal use. The quality of the script and the coloured paper inserts suggests the former. But some connoisseurs wrote in very fine hands. A scholar is also more likely to have left the text incomplete than a scribe working for a customer, who would presumably have told the scribe to fill in the blank spaces. The lack of catchwords may also indicate an 'amateur'. Professional scribes usually inserted the initial word of the following recto folio in the lower left hand corner of the preceding verso folio. Folios were rarely numbered so this was an easy way to put the quires back together, in sequence, if they were taken apart for some reason before being sewn. An amateur might not bother with this system. We have to remember, however, that catchwords seem not to have been used in *Maghribī* (*Andalusī*/North African) manuscripts before the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century.[19] This also has some bearing on the possible date of the Paris manuscript.

The date of the paper *circa* 1350–1450 means that the manuscript could have been copied in North Africa or Granada. But it was probably acquired by the Bibliothèque Royale through agents in the Levant, rather than North Africa.

It is not mentioned in the first handwritten catalogue or inventory of Arabic manuscripts prepared by the Syrian Buṭrūs al-Ḥalabī (Pierre Diyab/ Dipy), dated 1677.[20] It occurs for the first time in another handwritten catalogue, prepared apparently by the Abbé Renaudot in 1718.[21] According to a nineteenth-century note by Reinaud in the catalogue, this was a copy of an earlier Latin catalogue of 1682. The manuscript of the *History* is numbered 764 (2) and the title and the

name of the author are given in very fine Arabic script with a brief description in Latin beneath. But only the work of Ibn al-Qūṭīya is mentioned—not the *Akhbār majmūʿa*. A French translation of all the entries follows the Latin catalogue, in the same hand, and is identical—except that the manuscripts with numbers in parenthesis—764 (2), 764 (3), etc.—are not included, so the Ibn al-Qūṭīya manuscript is not listed in the French section.

This would appear to suggest that the manuscript was acquired between 1677 and 1682—where it was acquired is not known. Some 987 manuscripts are listed in the copy of the 1682 catalogue, although the records show, apparently, that only 833 Arabic manuscripts were in the Bibliothèque Royale by the latter date. It was during the reign of Louis XIV (1661–1715) that the royal collection acquired its first substantial bounty of Arabic manuscripts, when the able First Minister of the monarch and instigator of a policy of close relations with the Ottoman Empire, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, pressured the Bibliothèque Royale to acquire the collection of Oriental manuscripts that had belonged to the magistrate and scholar Gilbert Gaulpin (1585–1665). This added 233 Arabic manuscripts to the library. In 1668, the manuscripts of Cardinal Mazarin were obtained, adding another 164. Together with those already in the collection, the number of Arabic manuscripts had jumped from a mere handful in 1667 to more than 400 in 1668. This was followed by a period of feverish activity in the Levant by agents working for the Colbert and the Bibliothèque Royale. A Monsieur Wansleb or Wansleben sent 395 Arabic manuscripts to Paris between 1671 and 1675. Another 38 were acquired from the East around the same time. Most of these manuscripts, perhaps all, were mentioned in the 1677 catalogue of Dipy. Together with those already in the collection, altogether 987 manuscripts are listed. The cataloguing activity seems to have been too much for the Syrian because two scholars, Barthélemy d'Herbelot and the Abbé Renaudot, were appointed to work with him, and the first catalogue was printed in 1690.[22]

As the *History* was first allocated acquisition number 706, it would seem to have been among works collected in the Levant between 1671 and 1675, despite its not being mentioned in the catalogue of 1677 and despite its being of Granadan or North African origin.

Although some scholars assumed it would relatively easy to collect Arabic manuscripts in Spain, they were quickly disillusioned. Virtually everything had been destroyed by the early decades of the sixteenth century, and what had been hidden from the Inquisition were copies of the Qur'ān and religious works. Nor was it easy to purchase manuscripts in North Africa. The sixteenth-century Flemish Humanist and Arabist Nicolas Clenardus travelled to Fez in 1540 in search of

manuscripts, but met with suspicion and hostility and was not able to acquire what he wanted. A generation later, the Frenchman Etienne Hubert had more success and was able to bring some Arabic manuscripts to Paris.[23]

In the seventeenth century North Africa may have seemed a promising spot for the collection of Arabic manuscripts, but the activities of the Barbary Corsairs made it extremely unsafe. Many thousands of Europeans were carried off into slavery from ships captured on the high seas or by slaving expeditions which went as far as Newfoundland. The second half of the seventeenth century was particularly dangerous for European travellers, so manuscript-buying activities in Morocco or Algiers would have been impossible.[24] According to de Slane, manuscripts from North Africa in the Bibliothèque Nationale were acquired mainly after 1832, so it seems more likely that the *History* was acquired in the Levant rather than in North Africa.[25]

The text

The received text

Is the received text, in the form of the Paris manuscript, the fullest edition? Was there another longer version, and is the existing version perhaps only an abridgement? These questions have been considered by all historians who have studied Ibn al-Qūṭīya's work; most recently and exhaustively by Fierro in 1989 who concluded: 'I think the lack of a substantial *corpus* of quotations outside of the *History,* seems to indicate that the version of this work known in al-Andalus would correspond to the one which has come down to us.'[26]

As the Paris manuscript is—for the moment—unique, the only way that this point could be determined is by examining quotations attributed to Ibn al-Qūṭīya in the works of contemporary and later Muslim historians and biographers who dealt with the history of al-Andalus before 326/938, the date of the final events mentioned in the *History*. It has been apparent since Dozy first looked into this matter that both contemporary and later historians quoted Ibn al-Qūṭīya as their source. Some of the quotations relate to events mentioned in the *History* and contain similar or identical lines but some are longer than the relevant passages in the received text. Other 'quotations' do not appear there at all, though Ibn al-Qūṭīya is given as the source.[27]

Passages in later works which give Ibn al-Qūṭīya as their source, and do not appear in the *History,* could be explained by the many years he spent as a teacher and relater of *akhbār*. He was a transmitter of historical and biographical anecdotes, but his fund of such information must have outstripped that contained in the *History,* given its relative shortness and the relatively long life of the transmitter. Apart from what had been transmitted to him by his teachers or relatives, there were also events and personalities from the years after the last datable events of the text in 326/938 and Ibn al-Qūṭīya's death in 367/977. We know nothing of the latter—if indeed he ever related any.

But there are also passages in some historical works which appear to be from the *History,* because they are virtually identical, and which are given without attribution. Here, we have to bear in mind that there may have been a third common source for both passages. Ibn Abī 'l-Fayyāḍ who died in 459/ 1066 was apparently aware of the *History* through a passage from it quoted by Ibn al-Shabbāṭ in the *Ta'rīkh al-Andalus* of Ibn al-Kardabūs, but does not mention Ibn al-Qūṭīya perhaps because there was another source.[28] Some pages in the Escorial which have been identified as part of the *Kitāb al-ʿibar* of

Ibn Abī'l-Fayyāḍ contain passages that seem to be quotations from the *History,* though again Ibn al-Qūṭīya is not quoted as the source.[29] Some authors did not quote sources, though historical authenticity normally required that a source be mentioned. This was the main difference between *ta'rīkh,* 'history', and *akhbār,* 'anecdote'. But the main problem in attributing the *Kitāb al-ʿibar* passages to Ibn al-Qūṭīya is that they are longer and more detailed than the corresponding ones in the *History*.

However, the question of passages that quote Ibn al-Qūṭīya but are considerably longer than the relevant part of the *History* are best illustrated by those found in the *al-Muqtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān four large fragments of which are now known.[30] They deal with the reigns of al-Ḥakam I, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, Muḥammad I ʿAbdallāh and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, and contain many quotations attributed to Ibn al-Qūṭīya, which we shall examine shortly.

Ibn Ḥayyān's purpose in composing the *al-Muqtabis* was to give an account of the history of al-Andalus according to what earlier historians had said—regardless of whether they were *mu'arrikhs* or *akhbāris*. The work is not written in Ibn Ḥayyān's own style, but simply reproduces the words of his predecessors by quoting directly from their works: 'In his book on poets and men-of-letters, Ibn al-Faraḍī said…' But if there was no written work, then he says: Aḥmad ibn Khālid said…', without mentioning any title.[31]

The quotations from Ibn al-Qūṭīya can be divided into two groups: those that do not refer to events mentioned in the *History* and those that do. Some of the former are anecdotes about personalities like the chief judge of al-Ḥakam, Muḥammad, ibn Bashīr, which could well have been part of Ibn al-Qūṭīya's general fund of anecdotes on religious men and important figures of the past, and which were transmitted orally and were never written down in a formal historical work.

Others deal with historical events, such as the short quotation giving the date of the oath of allegiance *(bayʿa)* to the Emir ʿAbdallāh mentioned in Antuña's edition:[32]

> Then after the emir al-Mundhir ibn Muḥammad the emir ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad ruled. The oath of allegiance was taken to him in Cordova on Tuesday the 13th of Safr, 275/27 June 888.[33]

This is a simple statement of fact, giving an exact date—quite a rare occurrence in the *History*—and it is difficult to imagine that this information was not part of a longer passage referring to ʿAbdallāh's accession. But the *History* does not give the allegiance nor accession date of any Umayyad emir, so it is possible that this passage was never part of its text and formed part of a general fund of anecdotes.

The passages quoted by Ibn Ḥayyān which give Ibn al-Qūṭīya as their source are longer and differ in detail from those in the *History*—though not in every single instance. I have selected three to give an idea of the difference in content between the quotation and the relevant passage in the *History*.

Abdallāh's appointment and removal of Aḥmad ibn al-Barā' as Governor of Saragossa

Ibn al-Qūṭīya relates these events in the *History* as follows:

> Now, when al-Mundhir was emir, he appointed Aḥmad ibn al-Barā' ibn Mālik al-Qurashī Governor of Saragossa and the Upper March in opposition to the *Banū Qasī*. His position strengthened and he gathered a large army. When ʿAbdallāh became emir, al-Barā', Aḥmad's father was a minister in the chamber of ministers. Something was said to ʿAbdallāh about the minister which annoyed him, and worried him: it was something he had said in the chamber, which all the ministers heard.
>
> At that time Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tujībī, called Abū Yaḥyā–who was the ancestor of the Tujībids—had known the emir since he was a boy, The emir ʿAbdallāh wrote to him and commanded him that if he could assassinate Aḥmad ibn al-Barā', he should do it. Secretly the emir sent him a diploma of appointment over Saragossa and the surrounding area. He informed his father, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz of that and made him a minister. Then the two of them arranged matters to achieve what they wanted. They bribed Aḥmad's guards *(a ʿwān)* to kill him. When the news of his death came, ʿAbdallāh dismissed Aḥmad's father from his post. Thus the Tujībids controlled Saragossa: from then to our time.[34]

Ibn Ḥayyān gives Ibn al-Qūṭīya as his source for exactly the same events, but his quotation is much longer. The Arabic text of the account in the *History* has 139 words; while the *al-Muqtabis* has 200, so more detail (here emboldened) is given. This is not purely rhetorical, and cannot simply be regarded as a 'padded-out' version of Ibn al-Qūṭīya's text by some later transmitter.

> The emir al-Mundhir ibn Muḥammad appointed Aḥmad ibn al-Barā' ibn Mālik al-Qurashī over Saragossa and its March in opposition to the **rebellious** *Banū Qasī* in the Upper March. **His brother, the emir ʿAbdallāh** confirmed Aḥmad ibn al-Barā' in his control of the March. He gathered a large army and his

position strengthened. His father, al-Barā' ibn Mālik was appointed as a minister in Cordova with the other ministers in the chamber of ministers. **He talked too much** and something he said was conveyed to the emir ʿAbdallāh which he did not like. He said it in the chambers and all his fellow ministers heard it. **The emir turned against him and began to suspect his son, the governor of the March.**

Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad ibn ʾAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tujībī al-Saraqusṭī, **the ancestor of those Tujībids [now] in control of the March, alternating between rebellion and obedience,** had known the emir ʿAbdallāh since he was a child in the time of his father Muḥammad. **He had a great reputation and well-established leadership in the city.** The emir ʿAbdallāh wrote to him secretly and commanded him to assassinate Aḥmad ibn al-Barā'. He promised him the governorship of the city after him, and sent him a diploma of appointment over Saragossa and its territories. Abū Yaḥyā told his father about that and he joined him. They did something that caused Aḥmad ibn al-Barā"s death. They conspired with some of his **servants** *(ghilmān)* whom they knew were against him, and they killed him. Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān governed Saragossa in his place. The news reached the emir ʿAbdallāh so he dismissed al-Barā' ibn Mālik **and exiled him. Then he confirmed Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān over what he controlled**.[35]

Obviously Ibn Ḥayyān's account is not the one contained in the received text of the *History,* being longer and giving some additional information. The account in the *History* reads like an abridged version.

This is not an isolated occurrence: quotations attributed to Ibn al-Qūṭīya contain more information than appears in the *History,* even when the text is little more than a list of names.

The judges of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II

The *History* states as follows:

> Among those who were judges was Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad ibn Bashīr. He found him taking the place of his late father, and so confirmed him in office. There was also Muḥammad ibn Sharāḥīl al-Maʿārifī, who was the ancestor of the *Banū Sharāḥīl* and after whom is named the mosque and the wall in Cordova. Plus: Abū ʿUmar ibn Bashīr, Faraj ibn Kanāna al-Shadhūnī and Yaḥyā ibn Muʿammar al-Lāhānī [al-Ilhānī] al-Ishbīlī—though ʿAbd al-Raḥmān dismissed the latter and replaced him with Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā. He appointed al-Iswār ibn ʿUqba al-Jayyānī, and after him the ancestor of the *Banū [Abī] Ṣafwān al-Qurashī*. But he dismissed him because of something said by a woman that he did not condemn. She said, 'Son of caliphs! Look after me as God has looked after you!' He didn't condemn her for that, and it was brought to the emir's attention by Mūsā ibn Ḥudayr the chief treasurer who said, 'Someone who speaks in your name will be your associate in power.' That was the cause of his removal from office. He was followed by Aḥmad ibn Zīyād—ancestor of the *Banū Ziyād*- then Yaḥyā al-Ishbīlī again; then Yukhāmir ibn ʿUthmān al-Jayyānī but he begged to be released from the post, so the emir did so and appointed his brother Muʿādh instead. Then Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān al-Ghāfiqī al-Ballūṭī became judge after him.[36]

Ibn Ḥayyān quotes Ibn al-Qūṭīya as follows:

> The emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥakam found as judge of his father, the emir al-Ḥakam, Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad ibn Bashīr al-Maʿarifi, the ancestor of *Banū Sharāḥīl*, those after whom the mosque and the wall are named, **in the Western Quarter**. Then came al-Faraj ibn Kanāna **al-Kanānī** al-Shadhūnī; then Yaḥyā ibn Muʿammar al-Alhānī [al-Ilhānī] al-Ishbīlī. Then he dismissed him to appoint the *faqih* Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā instead of him. Then came al-Iswar ibn ʿUqba al-Jayyānī; then **Ibrāhīm ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Marwānī, ancestor of the *Banū Abī Ṣafwān*, those notable Qurayshids of Cordova**. Then he dismissed him—

they claimed—because of something said by a woman **in a lawsuit at a session of his,** which he didn't deny. That was; she said to him: 'Son of caliphs! Look after me as God has looked after you.' He didn't condemn her for that and it was brought to the emir's attention by Mūsā ibn Ḥudayr, the chief treasurer. **He sent him a note in which he said:** ***The emir should not allow someone to share his authority by being addressed as he has been addressed, and be lauded as he is lauded.*** That was the reason for his dismissal. **Now, it is said that the woman was inveigled to say what she said.** But the emir dismissed him rapidly. Then after him he appointed Aḥmad ibn Zīyād, the ancestor of the *Banū Zīyād,* those *Ruknīyūn*. Then he dismissed him and re-appointed Yaḥyā ibn Muʿammar; then Yukhāmir ibn ʿUthmān al-Jayyānī, but he asked permission to resign so he granted it and appointed his brother Muʿādh ibn ʿUthmān. Then came Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān al-Ghafiqi al-Ballūṭī **[the last of] his judges, and [the number of judges in his time was ten] men**.[37]

Again we can see differences of detail, some not very important, between the quotation and the received text of the *History*. But one section in the *History* definitely seems to have been 'doctored'. The name of the judge who was so foolish as to allow his name to be associated with the ruling family—even though he was of Umayyad descent—has been removed, and the account shortened. Was this done so as not to risk offending 'those notable Qurayshids of Cordova'? But once again, the text of the *History* reads like a summary of the passage quoted by Ibn Ḥayyān.

The arrival of the Vikings in 320/844

In this case—by contrast—the passage quoted in the *History* is the fuller of the two, stating:

> ʿAbd al-Raḥmān built the Great Mosque of Seville. He also built the walls of that city, because of the seizure of Seville by the *Majūs* when they invaded, during his reign, in the year 230/844. The inhabitants panicked and fled the city for Carmona and the hills nearby. None of the inhabitants of western al-Andalus attempted to resist the invaders, so volunteers were recruited from among the people of Cordova and its neighbouring provinces. Accompanied by some ministers they set off, together with volunteers recruited from the marches who had assembled after the invaders had occupied the far western seaboard and the area around *al-Ushbūna* [Lisbon] in their first invasion.
>
> The ministers and their men established their camp at Carmona, but were not able to attack the enemy, because of their ferocity, until the volunteers of the Marches arrived led by Mūsā ibn Qasī, who had been implored by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II to help. He reminded him of his client status with the former caliph al-Walid ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, and his ancestor's acceptance of Islam at his hands. So Mūsā softened in his attitude, and came with a large army, which he kept separate from the ministers' men and the other troops of the marches, after he had arrived at Carmona, and encamped next to them. Then those from the marches asked the ministers about the movements of the enemy. They told them that they went out of Seville every day in detachments, some towards *Firish* [Constantina], and Fuente de Cantos, others towards Cordova and Morón. So they inquired after a place in which to ambush them near Seville and the village of *Kintush Muʿāfir,* [Quirtas de Moafer], south of Seville was suggested.
>
> The troops descended at the dead of night and hid themselves there. In the village was an ancient church and they sent a look-out up to its highest point with wood for a beacon fire. At dawn a group of the enemy, some sixteen thousand men, appeared, some going in the direction of Morón. When

they got near the village the watchman signalled. The troops waited until the enemy had gone some distance, then they cut off their retreat, and put them all to the sword.

The ministers and their men entered Seville and found the governor besieged in the citadel. He came out to meet them, and the inhabitants returned. In addition to the group that was killed, another had gone towards Fuente de Cantos, another towards Cordova and yet another towards *Banī'l-Layth,* [Benilaiz]. But when those of the enemy who were in the city became aware of the approach of the cavalry and the army, and the destruction of the group making for Morón, they fled to their boats and went up the river towards *al-Zaʿwāq,* [Azaguac] and met up with their compatriots. They embarked, and set off downstream, with the troops shouting insults at them and firing stones and animal bones. When they were some distance below Seville, the enemy called out to the troops, 'If you want to ransom the hostages we have, stop firing!' So they stopped and most of the hostages among their prisoners were ransomed. The enemy did not want gold or silver: rather food and clothing. Thus they departed from Seville and made for *Nakūr,* [Nuqūr] where they captured the ancestor of the *Banū Ibn Sālih*.

He was ransomed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II which is the reason for the influence that the Umayyads have with the *Banū [Ibn] Ṣālih*. They devastated the coasts on both sides of the Mediterranean, until they reached Byzantine territory. On that expedition they reached Alexandria. The voyage took fourteen years.[38]

Ibn Ḥayyān only gives the following lines as his quotation from Ibn al-Qūṭīya:

In the year 230/844 in the reign of the emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥakam, the *Majūs* appeared on the western coast; their capture of Seville occurred; and they sacked it for a number of days. No one in the West was able to resist them. The emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān asked for volunteers in Cordova, his capital, to fight them: and from the nearby provinces and marches. Many contingents arrived. The emirs of the Upper March were led by Mūsā ibn Qasī who was in revolt against the Sultan, but who had been implored by the emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and reminded of the clienthood of his ancestors to his own—al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik—and his ancestor's acceptance of Islam at his hands. So he came with a great band of troops and they went with the rest to Seville. The ministers went with a large group of people to

> Carmona, avoiding any encounter with the *Majūs* because of their ferocity and numbers. Then they became enflamed and went out to meet them and God gave them a great victory in which many were killed. Ibn Qasī kept apart with the group of his men, encamped away from the others. When they were defeated the cursed ones stopped attacking the coast and ceased fighting. They kept the captives they had, but allowed their ransom, making the transaction easy, because they did not want gold or silver, but food and clothing. So the people were able to recue the majority of those in their hands. Then they left and withdrew towards North Africa.
>
> At this time the emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān built the wall of the the city of Seville and fortified it. He repaired the damage done by the *Majūs* to its Great Mosque and other mosques, and repaired the destruction.[39]

Here, it is Ibn Ḥayyān who seems to be summarising Ibn al-Qūṭīya's account. Although some of the wording is identical, the account in the *History* is much fuller. Perhaps the event, although dramatic and destructive, was not of much interest to Ibn Ḥayyān who was more concerned with the internal activities of al-Andalus. He writes page after page on the machinations that led to the restoration of central authority in Seville, but only a few lines on the Viking invasion, which brought death and destruction to the city.[40] Ibn al-Qūṭīya, however, with strong links to Seville, would have had more concern about what happened because his own family must have been involved, and he would have heard some personal memories, related by his relatives and teachers. This account is one of the longest and most detailed in the *History.* If the received text, taken as a whole, is a truncated version of the original *History,* then the editor who summarised the text was obviously interested in retaining this account in its entirety.

Where do Ibn Ḥayyān's accounts originate? Obviously not in the received text of the *History*. Although Ibn Ḥayyān quotes Ibn al-Qūṭīya at considerable length, he does not refer to any written work by him. It was his custom to do so if such a work existed, and he refers to many works that have disappeared. He also tells us, whenever it is appropriate, that the work he consulted was in the hand of the author.

His source may have been an oral one. After all, Ibn al-Qūṭīya quotes events that occurred one or two centuries before his time, on the basis of oral authority alone. However, as more and more history was being committed to paper—or parchment—in the fifth/eleventh century, it seems likely that Ibn Ḥayyān had access to some written material. Perhaps these were notes he had collected from former pupils of Ibn al-Qūṭīya—like his nephew ʾAbd al-Malik ibn Sulaymān—or their

descendants. He also quotes information from some of Ibn al-Qūṭīya's teachers, like Aḥmad ibn Khālid, Aslam ibn ʿUmar and Ibn Lubāba; though citing no written work by any of them.

Although he worked within the constraints of mediaeval tradition, Ibn Ḥayyān was close to the modern concept of a historian and researcher and he paid great attention to the collection of sources, without which the *al-Muqtabis* could not have existed. So, either Ibn Ḥayyān was not aware of any copy of the *History* or, if he was, the oral or written transmission he had at his disposal was fuller. But as he always refers to his written sources, it would be surprising for him not to mention the existence of the *History,* if he knew of it. This would seem to indicate that no copy was known to him, and what he had—at most—was only a batch of notes.

Throughout the Islamic world in the fourth/tenth century, books were circulated/published by a complicated and cumbersome process. The author dictated his text—from memory, or by reading it—and his words were written down by his circle of students. The text was read back to him by any student who wished to and then the writer was licensed to relate the text himself. The student in turn could then dictate the text to his own students, or whoever wished to obtain a copy. Alternatively a scholar could copy out the text and read it back to the author or one of his licensees and have it authenticated. To transmit the text of a work could involve many sessions, depending on the length of the work and the number of times a listener was able to attend the circle. At the end of the day there could be several versions of a text in existence: from the author's draft *(musawwada)* through fair copies (sing. *mubayyaḍa*), incomplete versions, *(nāqis)* unauthenticated versions, without the author's certified authority *(ijāza)* and fully authenticated ones with an *ijāza*. After that there could be abridgements (sing. *khilāṣa*), commentaries (sing. *sharḥ*), and even supplements (sing. *dhayl*) in the case of historical works, bringing them up to date. Works could even be expanded by the original author at a later date, as may have happened to Ibn al-Faraḍī's *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*.[41] So, when we have a single isolated copy, such as the received text of the *History,* undated, unsigned by the copyist, whose title has never been mentioned, we cannot know where this version comes in the history of the transmission of the text.

Thus, we cannot say definitely that no longer version existed. There is even support for this within the *History.* At one point in the text, the author promises to deal with the revolt by the people of Toledo against Muḥmmad I [in 239/853], but this is not mentioned in the Paris manuscript.[42] This is perhaps the strongest piece of internal evidence that there could have been another longer version. We lack conclusive proof at present, though the most recently published part of the *al-*

Muqtabis furnishes enough information to allow this question to be taken seriously once more.

The passages in the received text which end in the symbol *hā'*, which I have suggested means that the preceding anecdote is summarised, do not include the three above anecdotes, though two of them seem to be summaries by Ibn Ḥayyān of earlier accounts by Ibn al-Qūṭīya. This can only mean that the received text is a version that was summarised by someone after Ibn Ḥayyān wrote the *al-Muqtabis*.

b Earlier versions of the received text

The Paris manuscript was copied from an earlier version that had suffered some textual corruption by the time it was copied. It contains grammatical errors for which Ibn al-Qūṭīya as a grammarian cannot be held responsible. One occurs in the first few lines where the text refers to the author's informants and adds: *rahima'llah ʿan jami'ihim min shuyukhihim*. There appear to be too many prepositions, and no editor has come up with a satisfactory version of what may have been initially related.[43] This is not the only instance of mistakes: the text is sprinkled with them. However no handwritten text can be entirely free from scribal error, no matter how meticulous the copyist.

More telling are the names which are evidently mis-readings by the copyist. Ṣufīyān ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi is written ʿMahrān' ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi; Ḥudayr is written ʿJudayr'. But most important is the location, 'the rock of *Jawdhārish* to the west of Bobastro', mentioned in the account of Ibn Ḥafṣūn's rebellion: *History*.[44]

Jawdhārish must be the place mentioned twice by Ibn Ḥayyān, near Álora north-west of Malaga, which is written slightly differently in each case: *F.rdhālish* and *F.rdhārish.* It is clear how this name has been transformed: *fā'* with sublinear point=*jīm; rā'=dhāl.* The letters *s* and *l* are always interchangeable in the Romance languages and dialects of the peninsula: so *F.rdhālish/F.rdhārish* has become first *J.rdālish/J.rdhārish,* and then *Jawdhārish*. In his examination of the literary and topographical evidence for the exact location of Bobastro, Vallvé also refers to *Qardhārish,* one of several fortresses belonging to Ibn Ḥafsūn. But is seems likely that *Fardālish, Qardārish and Jawdhārish,* are all the same place.[45]

Leaving aside the question of which place is being referred to, let us address the question of what Ibn al-Qūṭīya actually *said* when he dictated his text. Of course we can only guess. But he almost certainly said *Fardhālish*—or perhaps *Fardhārish,* or even *Qardhārish*—which the listener wrote down, and not *Jawdhārish*. The change from *fā'* to *jīm,* etc., can only have occurred in the course of copying. Unless of course, Ibn al-Qūṭīya misread his own notes—assuming that he had some to misread. It is only a small point but it is evidence that the received text dates from after the death of Ibn al-Qūṭīya in 367/977, when the possibility of correcting the mistake had gone. Furthermore there must have been at least one—and probably more—intervening copies, which included this mistake.[46]

It seems probable that there were several versions of the text in existence from the mid-fourth/tenth century onwards, of which the Paris version is only one—but the only surviving one; and that there never was a *definitive* version, as such. There were after all, *fifteen* different recensions of the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Ibn Mālik and several of these circluated in al-Andalus. This would explain why there are siginficant differences between the received text of Ibn al-Qūṭīya's *History* and what later historians quote as his words.

Modern editions of the text

The Paris manuscript was first referred to by a European historian in 1765 when Cardonne published a three-volume work on Muslim Spain and North Africa, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la domination des Arabes*. Denis Dominique Cardonne (1720–1783) was librarian to King Louis XV (1715–1774) as well as interpreter in oriental languages. As librarian he had access to the Arabic manuscripts in the royal collection, which he used to compose his *Histoire*. At that time the manuscript was attributed to 'Ebn-el-Kautir', but fortunately Cardonne gave the manuscript a number, MS 706—otherwise we might have had another mystery on our hands. The work is not given a title in the list of works used: Cardonne only says: *de redactis in Arabum potestatem Hispanis*.[47]

According to Cherbonneau it was Joseph Reinaud who first identified the author correctly. Reinaud had used the manuscript for his study of the early mediaeval Arab settlements in southern France, published in 1836.[48]

Cherbonneau published the text and translation under the title *Fotouh Elandalus Lilmoslimin, Conquête de l'Espagne par les Musulmans,* which sounds more like a librarian's description than a title. The manuscript bears the title on folio 2 recto: *Ta'rīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus li-Ibn al-Qūṭīya* and again on the initial folio in the form of an owner's note, so why Cherbonneau should have been mistaken is not clear. The manuscript is bound with the *Akhbār majmū'a* whose title is given on folio 51 recto as *Akhbār majmū'a fī iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, and on the final folio as *Akhbār majmū'a bi-fatḥ al-Andalus*, so I can only conclude that Cherbonneau somehow confused the various titles.[49]

The first printed—partial—edition of the text by Cherbonneau was published in two volumes of the *Journal Asiatique* in 1853 and 1856. The first volume contains the reign of al-Ḥakam I, and the second contains the text from the beginning to the end of the reign of Hishām I. Place names, doubtful names and poems are given in Arabic throughout. Cherbonneau appended several pages of useful notes, which seem to have been missed by some later editors and translators.[50]

The second edition, also partial, was that of Houdas published in Paris in 1889. His edition covers the period from the beginning to the

end of the reign of Hishām, exactly the same as Cherbonneau in his 1856 edition. He uses the *maghribī* forms of the letters *fā'* and *qāf* and ignores the expression *hā'/alkh,* though he does note the blank spaces.[51] Houdas gives the correct title and offers a suggestion as to why Cherbonneau gave a different one, though in this he was mistaken. (See note 8 above.)

The third is the celebrated work of Ribera, which appeared in Madrid in 1926, together with a Spanish translation. The edition was, in fact, prepared for publication by three outstanding Spanish scholars of Arabic and Islamic Spain, Gayangos, Codera and Saavedra, in 1868 and was available in a printed version from that date.[52] It was this that Ribera reproduced and translated in 1926, making a number of corrections and additions to the text. However, he omits some parts of the Paris manuscript, either by accident, or because they had been missed in the manuscript in the handwritten copy made by Gayangos in Paris, later re-copied and now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, MS 4996.

The Madrid copy is undated.[53] On the opening page under the title is an inscription in Arabic which says that the manuscript was (re-)copied by Eduardo Saavedra from the copy of the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, made by Pascual de Gayangos. No date is given for either act of copying, but obviously both occurred before 1868. The manuscript is on 33 folios of white *octavo*. Saavedra copied competently, in a *naskhi* hand, with the 'key words' and 'significant words' in red, written slightly larger than the main text. Either this copy or that of Gayangos was used to prepare the printed edition: something that took no little time. Ribera gives an account of this in the introduction to his translation of the text, saying that it proceeded slowly and laboriously; the typesetters of Arabic lacked the necessary expertise, and the continual attention of the editor—Gayangos—was required. The work was finally completed with assistance of Saavedra and Codera, who were friends and disciples of the *Maestro Arabista*.[54] It was presumably the latter who decided that the symbol *hā',* which occurs in the Madrid manuscript in most of the places where it is found in the Paris original, should be indicated in the printed text by the symbol *alkh,* although this appears nowhere in the Paris manuscript; nor in Saavedra's copy—nor presumably, in Gayangos's own. All we can ask is: why so? Gayangos produced his translations without the aid of the great nineteenth century dictionaries of Lane and Dozy, and with far fewer printed editions of related texts to help him. For his translation of al-Maqqarī's vast *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* he relied on seven manuscript copies of the text.[55] For example, that in the British Museum—now Library—is a twelfth/eighteenth century Ottoman version, closely written in a minute, compact script, and not

at all easy to find one's way around, even with help of a printed edition. By any standard, Gayangos was a formidable scholar of Arabic.[56] We can only assume that he was not entirely familiar with scribal usage and understood *hā'* and *alkh* to be the same thing. But it remains a mystery, as yet unresolved. In any event, the text was printed in 1868 by the Rivandaneyra Press, Madrid, and was available with an index, in 231 pages.[57]

Published in the same volume were two related texts: part of the *Kitāb al-imāma wa'l-siyāsa* of [Pseudo] Ibn Qutayba and part of the *Akhbār fatḥ al-Andalus* of al-Wazīr al-Ghassānī.[58]

In 1957 ʿAbdallāh Anīs al-Ṭabbāʿ, a former student of Emilio García Gómez, at the Lebanese National Library, published a nicely printed edition, together with the two texts mentioned above, in a single volume, in Beirut.[59] Al-Ṭabbāʿ made numerous reinterpretations of the Gayangos/Ribera reading of the text, which he duly noted in his edition. The text is preceded by an essay by the editor which consists of an overview of the conquest and sub-sequent events, a large part of which is devoted to discussing the views of the Egyptian scholar of Islamic Spain, Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh ʿInān.[60] He mentions no earlier editions of the text other than that of Ribera, and usually refers in his footnotes only to the copy of the Paris manuscript in Madrid, though in his introduction he states that he consulted 'the original'. By this I take him to mean the Madrid copy because he cannot have examined the original manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

In 1982 another edition appeared, the work of the Egyptian scholar Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, which was published simultaneously in Cairo and Beirut.[61] The editor was aware of the editions of Houdas and Gayangos/ Ribera, and does refer to the Cairo reprint of the Houdas edition produced by the *al-Tawfīq* Press. But he makes no mention of the editions of Cherbonneau and al-Ṭabbāʿ. He was obviously aware of the existence of the Paris manuscript but he is mistaken about a number of points and seems to have missed out several words and sentences, as well as the parts of the manuscript not included by Gayangos/Ribera. Al-Abbyārī, in fact, seems to have used only the Gayangos/Ribera printed edition of the Arabic text, offering what is in effect, a reintepretation, based on his own long career in the editing of manuscripts. The text is preceded by an introduction in which the editor addresses some important points relating to the manuscript, the author and the text. He believed that the copyist, a student of the author, wrote up the text and included parts of the works of Ibn Ḥabīb and al-Rāzī and that the quotations from the former are marked in the text by the expression *alkh*.

Translations

Cherbonneau translated the two sections that he published into French in 1853 and 1856. In 1889 Houdas produced another French translation of part of the text, from the beginning up to the reign of al-Ḥakam I, covering the same part of the text as Cherbonneau, rather than continuing the text where the latter had stopped.

There were two other translations of the text. Dozy printed the part dealing with the Viking invasion as a supplement to his *Recherches* in 1881. In 1924 Fagnan published a translation of the text, but without an edition of the Arabic text, from where Cherbonneau and Houdas had stopped. It is accompanied by a number of useful notes.[62]

In 1926 Ribera produced the best known and the first complete translation of the text, in Spanish. This, together with Arabic edition which accompanied it, has been used by most later scholars who have studied the history of second/eighth and particularly third/ninth century al-Andalus.

In 1975, J.M.Nichols, a graduate student at the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill), translated the edition of al-Ṭabbāʿ, deferring frequently to that of Ribera, and presented it with notes and an introduction, as a doctoral thesis. Although this competent, fully annotated translation was never published as a book, it has been available as a microfilm print-out since 1975.[63]

The historian

His ancestry

Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, called *Ibn al-Qūṭīya*, died in Cordoba in 367/977 and was buried there in the resting place of the illustrious, the Cemetery of al-Quraysh, though he was not a descendant of the Prophet. He was not even an Arab. As his *nisba* indicates, he came from Visigothic stock on one side, while his progenitor on the other was a client of the Umayyad caliph of Damascus, Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (105–125/ 724–743).

Ibn al-Qūṭīya was born, reportedly, in Cordova, though we do not know when: probably during the first decade of the fourth/tenth century. He had a long life, but there is no evidence that he lived to an exceptionally great age. His age at the moment of his death however, is almost the only thing we do not know about him, as his life, ancestry and descendants, are well documented.

He was a descendant of the last legitimate Visigoth king, Witiza, (*Ghīṭīsha*)*:* through Sarah the Goth (*Sāra al-Qūṭīya*) who was the daughter of Almund *(Almund),* one of the three sons of Witiza. Ardabast (*Arṭabās*/ *Arṭabāsh*) and Rómulu (Aquila-*Waqla-Rumulu*) being the other two.[64] This is according to Ibn al-Qūṭīya's own account: *History,* 49. There was another tradition recorded by Ibn Khallikān in the *Wafayāt,* partly on the authority of Ibn ʿAfif, a pupil of Ibn al-Qūṭīya, asserting that Witiza's sons were Oppas *(Wahba)* and Sisiberto *(Sayyida/ Sisibira),* who died in battle with Roderik *(Lūdharīq)* at the Guadalete in 92/711, and that Sāra was the daughter of Oppas, not Almund.[65] Ibn al-Qūṭīya's version is the one that is now accepted as the correct one, though the final years of the Visigoth kingdom are shrouded in mystery and confusion. It is unlikely that we shall ever know the real course of events and the relationships of the people involved on the Visigoth side.[66]

When Sāra went to Damascus to protest against the actions of her uncle Arṭabās in seizing her property, the Umayyad caliph Hishām arranged her marriage to one of his clients (*mawlā,* pl. *mawālī*), ʿĪsā bin Muzāḥim. He is described as *barbar* by al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, which normally meant 'Berber', though it is said to have also meant Iranian in Umayyad times.[67] Whatever the truth, he was evidently not an Arab. He accompanied Sāra when she returned to Seville and there secured her properties. This was at the beginning of Hishām's reign, around 107–108/725–726.

ʿĪsā and Sāra had two sons, Ibrāhīm and Isḥāq, and it was from

Ibrāhīm the original *Ibn al-Qūṭīya*—that Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar, the author of the *History* was ultimately descended. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Ibrāhīm's son was the author's grandfather.

The *Banū'l-Qūṭīya* therefore came from Seville originally, though the branch to which Ibn al-Qūṭīya belonged may also have been established in Cordova for some time, when, according to historians, he was born there, although his father ʿUmar called also *Ibn al-Qūṭīya*, was judge of Seville until 301/913 and judge of Écija from 301–302/914. Presumably his mother spent her period of confinement in Cordova. Ibn al-Qūṭīya must have spent his childhood in Seville. His nephew ʿAbd al-Malik appears to have been brought up there, which would mean that his brother Sulaymān ibn ʿUmar, probably spent his life there.

Apart from his relations of partial Visigoth ancestry, descended from Sāra's other son by Isā ibn Muzāḥim, Isḥāq ibn ʿĪsā (Ibn al-Qūṭīya's greatuncle) there were other extended family members related to him through Sāra's second Arab husband. Soon after the death of ʿĪsā in 136/753 she married ʿUmayr ibn Saʿīd al-Lakhmī, a marriage supported by the Syrian Umayyad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, then recently arrived in al-Andalus to be proclaimed emir by his supporters. ʿUmayr belonged to a well known Arab tribe, the *Banū Lakhm,* so his descendants through his son Ḥabīb—Ibn al-Qūṭīya's 'step-cousins'—were of Arab ancestry.

Ibn al-Qūṭīya was probably born around 277–282/890–895, as one of his main informants *Ibn al-Ṭanjīya*, died in 300/912. He was born into a family of Umayyad clients, who had been in al-Andalus for four generations. It is important to remember that it is in *this* capacity that he speaks throughout the text of the *History:* not as a latter-day Visigoth, nor as an Arab, but as a loyal client of the ruling dynasty of al-Andalus. His life coincided with the height of Muslim military power and cultural superiority in the peninsula: the reigns ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300–350/912–961) and his son al-Ḥakam II 350–366/961–976.

Ibn al-Qūṭīya was fully aware of his Visigothic ancestry. Unlike many other inhabitants of al-Andalus his ancestors had made no attempt to shed their origins by inventing bogus Arab pedigrees, though given the fact that the story of Sāra was apparently so well-known, it would have been difficult to conceal the family's origin.

Why was he known as *Ibn al-Qūṭīya* the 'son' of the Gothic woman? There is no indication that he was particularly proud of his Visigothic connections: being an Umayyad client was what mattered to him. There is no reason to think that the name meant that the family may have remained Christian for some considerable time after the Conquest, as has been suggested.[68] It was unusual for a Muslim man

or family to be known by the *nisba* of a female ancestor. However there are other examples. One of those who supplied him with information for the *History* was Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā', *Ibn al-Ṭanjīya* al-Ishbīlī—'the son of the woman from Tangiers'.[69]

But let us remember that by the birth of Ibn al-Qūṭīya the family had used the *nisba* for nearly two centuries; so the question is why Ibrāhīm, the son of ʿĪsā ibn Muzāḥim and Sāra al-Qūṭīya was called *Ibn al-Qūṭīya* and not 'Ibn Muzāḥim'? There are a number of possible explanations.

It could happen if the female ancestor was a particularly powerful and dominant one. This certainly seems to have been the case with Sāra. Another reason could be to identify the sons of a father who had more than one wife. In the *History,* prince ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II was called *Ibn Ṭarūb* after his mother by the palace eunuchs and king-makers, to distinguish him from his half-brother Muḥammad in the machinations over the succession to the throne in 238/852: *History,* 113, 114. It could also occur when a wife remarried. After the death of ʿĪsā ibn Muzāḥim, Sāra married an Arab immigrant ʿUmayr ibn Saʿīd al-Lakhmī with whom she had several children. Ibrāhīm was her son not ʿUmayr's and this could have led to him being called *Ibn al-Qūṭīya*, to distinguish him from his half-brothers, particularly as his own father was dead. These identifications were casual yet practical during the lifetime of the person concerned. Only in a very small number of cases did the appellation continue to be used for subsequent generations.

Some Spanish writers of the late-nineteenth and the twentieth centuries saw Ibn al-Qūṭīya's concern in the *History* with the affairs of Iberian Muslims as evidence of his own 'nationalistic' feelings, of 'Spanish blood running in his veins'.[70] In their view Ibn al-Qūṭīya bore his name because of his pride in his pre-Muslim ancestory. But he only mentions the revolts among the Iberian Muslim converts, the *Muwallads,* to condemn them. His account of ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣūn the powerful *Muwallad* rebel of Málaga who controlled a large area of central southern Andalusia is long and detailed, and not unsympathetic in parts. But his comment on the severe—though not permanent—defeat inflicted by the Umayyad army on Ibn Ḥafṣūn near Peña and Estepa shows where his true sympathies lie: 'And so victory went to the Godfearing': *History,* 137. The use of the nisba *al-Qūṭīya* is therefore no indication of the author's political sympathies or archaistic interests. It was a fact of birth.

His life and work

Ibn al-Qūṭīya lived in Cordova most of his life, though part of it was spent in Seville, where he had strong family ties. His father was judge of Seville and was appointed judge of the province (kūra) of Écija by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in 301–302/914. He studied under scholars of Cordova and Seville, becoming an authority, (according to some, the leading authority) on Arabic grammar. He was acknowledged as such, and had several outstanding pupils who became well known in several different walks of life and praised his knowledge and teaching. Grammar was not his only interest. He also taught jusiprudence *(fiqh),* tradition (*ḥadīth*) and related (or transmitted) anecdotes (akhbār), though in the first two disciplines he was considered to be deficient.

Akhbār differed from *ta'rīkh* in not being tied to a chain *(isnād)* of authorities. This seems to be why Ibn al-Qūṭīya rarely quotes his oral sources, mentions almost no written sources, and gives very few dates. According to Chalmeta *akhbārīs* were only interested in transmitting anecdotes that were hitherto unrecorded, even partial ones and Ibn al-Qūṭīya, in Chalmeta's opinion, was one of the worst example of an *akhbārī,* transmitting and transforming the relation as it suited him.[71] This condemnation seems unduly harsh.

If the criticism of his methods of teaching tradition and jurisprudence by Ibn al-Faraḍī extended also to his transmission of anecdotal history, it must have been for this reason, although Ibn al-Faraḍī only refers to his deficiencies in the two former disciplines. In any case, Ibn Ḥayyān one of the best historians of the emiral and caliphal periods of Andalusī history, has no hesitation in quoting Ibn al-Qūṭīya as one of his sources on numerous occasions in the *al-Muqtabis.* He is also happy to quote other *akhbāris* who were teachers of Ibn al-Qūṭīya, like Ibn Lubāba, Aḥmad ibn Khālid and Aslam ibn ʿUmar although these latter left no written works of history—as far as we know—and none is mentioned by Ibn Ḥayyān Some of Ibn al-Qūṭīya's teachers did produce written works, however. Qāsim ibn Aṣbagh is credited with a book on genealogies.

Like many scholars, Ibn al-Qūṭīya composed poetry in his early years, some of which survives. He was wealthy enough to own some property outside of Cordova, though it is unlikely that this was an inheritance from his Visigothic ancestors. The royal estates allotted to them by caliphal decree in the time of al-Walīd seem to have vanished by the mid-fourth/tenth century. He married at least once and had a

family. His son followed his father, taking up a career as a scholar, and studying in his father's circle of students. His nephew did the same and was also a student of his illustrious uncle. To posterity he bequeathed a number of written works. The *Taṣārīf al-af'āl*, 'Conjugation of Verbs' and the *Maqṣūr wa'l-mamdūd*, 'Endings in *alif maqṣūra* and *alif madda*' are both on grammar.[72] He wrote others but they have not survived.[73] He also taught the works of others: Ibn al-Faraḍī attended the sessions in which he relayed the *al-Kāmil* of [Muḥammad ibn Yazīd] al-Mubarrad, on the authority of Saʿīd ibn Jābir.

He may have been *Ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* (police chief) of Cordova at some stage according to al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095).[74] He may also have been among those present at the oath of allegiance to Hishām II in 366/976—the year before his death.[75]

The *Taʾrīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus,* 'The History of the Conquest of al-Andalus', is the title of the work by which he has become known in the West from the eighteenth century onwards. But this title is not mentioned by any of his biographers. His pupil Ibn al-Faraḍī (351–403/962–1013) does not mention it in his *Tarikh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus.* He only talks of Ibn al-Qūṭīya's interest in the anecdotal history of al-Andalus, which he taught from memory. Ibn Ḥayyān who died in 469/1076 quotes Ibn al-Qūṭīya on several occasions, and at length, in the *al-Muqtabis.* But he mentions no written work. The first scholar to say that he actually composed a history of al-Andalus is al-Qāḍī ʿIyād (d. 544/1149), in his *Tarīb al-madārik:* 'He composed an excellent work on its history', (*lahu taṣnīf fī taʾrīkhihā ḥasan*).[76] In his *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ,* Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (574–626/1179–1229) is the first to mention a *History (lahu sharḥ Adab al-kātib wa-Taʾrīkh al-Andalus wa-ghayra dhālik).*[77] It is not clear however, whether Yāqūt thought this *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus* was the title or whether he simply meant 'a history of al-Andalus'.

Ibn al-Faraḍī was a master of biographical writing and is considered one of the founders—if not the founder—of the *genre* by which much historical information was passed on. He was born in Cordova in 351/962 and studied under Ibn al-Qūṭīya, among others. Ibn Ḥayyān lists several works by him on the poets and literary figures of al-Andalus, which have not survived. But his work on jurists and traditionists has survived—happily—in a so-far unique manuscript in Tunis, discovered in 1887. The *Tarīkh 'ulamāʾ al-Andalus,* 'The History of the Learned Men of al-Andalus', is a biographical dictionary that contains the earliest account of Ibn al-Qūṭīya:

> Muḥamad ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿĪsā ibn Muzāḥim, a client of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz called *Ibn al-Qūṭīya* was from Cordova, although his origins were in

Seville. His *kunya* was Abū Bakr.

In Seville he studied under the following: Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Qūn [d.307/919],[78] Ḥasan ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Zubayrī/al-Zubaydī [d. 318/930], Saʿīd ibn Jābir [d. 325/936], Alīibn AbīShayba [d. 325/936] and Sayyid Abīhi al-Zāhid [d. 325/936].[79]

In Cordova he studied under Ṭāhir ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [d. 304/916], Ibn Abī'l-Walīd al-Aʿraj of *Shadhūna* [d. 309/921], Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Mughīth [?],Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Lubāba [d. 314/ 926], ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣ ibn Abī Tammām [d. 316/928], Aslam ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [d. 317 or 319/929 or 931],Aḥmad ibn Khālid [d. 322/933], Muḥammad ibn Miswār [d. 325/936],Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ayman [d. 330/942], ʿAbdallāh ibn Yūnus [d. 330/942], Aḥmad ibn Bishr al-Aghbas [d. 327/938], Qāsim ibn Aṣbagh [d. 340/951], and others of similar ilk.[80]

He was a scholar of grammar, learned (*ḥāfiẓan*) in language, foremost among the scholars of his time, unequalled and unsurpassed. He was the author of a number of excellent works in this field including: *Kitāb taṣārīf al-afʿāl* and *Kitāb al-maqṣūd waʾl-mamdūd*, and others.

He was learned in the anecdotes of al-Andalus, dictating accounts of the lives of its rulers, the circumstances of its jurisprudents and poets. All this he dictated from memory *(wa-kāna ḥāfiẓan li-akhbār al-Andalus muliyan bi-riwāyat siyar umarāʾihā wa-aḥwāl fuqahāʾ ihā wa-shuʿarāʾihā, yulī dhālika min ẓahr qalb).*

It was works on language that were read before him and taken down from him. He was not accurate in relating tradition and jurisprudence. He lacked the resources. What was heard from him in those areas was only the interpretation *(ʿalāʾl-maʿnā)* not the letter (*lā ʿalāʾl-lafẓ*). Much of what was studied under him had no verifiable authority.

He lived many years, so generation after generation studied under him. His teaching was transmitted by numerous shaykhs and elders who became judges, acted as advisers, and administered the affairs of royalty and others. I used to attend him when I was studying Arabic to hear the *al-Kāmil* of Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Mubarrad, which he taught on the authority of Saʿīd ibn Jābir. I attended several sessions. But he died—may God have mercy on him—before we finished it. His death occurred on a Tuesday at the end of the month, 27th *Rabī al-Awwal* in the year 367 [11 March 977].[81] He was buried on Wednesday during the afternoon prayer in the

Cemetery of Quraysh. Abū Jaʿfar ibn Awn officiated, as he had been requested.[82]

Thanks to al-Khushanī we know of two other teachers: Murra ibn Daysam and Hāshim ibn Razīn. Their death-dates are not given. Al-Zubaydī mentions a further teacher from Seville: ʿUfayr ibn Maʿsū d.[83] All later historians and biographers who describe the life of Ibn al-Qūṭīya take al-Faraḍī's authoritative account as their starting point. Some writers add a little more to our knowledge.

After following the account of Ibn al-Faraḍī in his *Wafayāt al-aʿyān,* Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1281) says:

> … He met many shaykhs and elders of his era, with whom he studied *(akhadha ʿanhum).* Most of what he transmitted is their information.
>
> Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī (d.356/965) when he came to al-Andalus [in 330/ 942], met him and praised him highly, so that when al-Ḥakam ibn al-Nāṣir li-dīn-illāh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (350–366/961–976), the ruler of al-Andalus at that time, asked him: 'Who is the finest scholar of language of those you have met?' He answered: 'Muḥammad ibn al-Qūṭīya' In addition to these qualities he was also a man of piety and devotion. He composed excellent poetry, well expressed, whose meaning was clear, with good beginnings and endings; though he abandoned this activity altogether.
>
> The writer and poet Abū Bakr Yaḥyā ibn Hudhayl al-Tamīmī related that when he was going out one day to an estate he owned at the foot of the mount of Cordova, one of the loveliest and most agreeable spots on earth, he met Abū Bakr ibn al-Qūṭīya coming from there, where he also had an estate. He said: 'When he saw me he stopped by me and expressed his pleasure at meeting me. So I improvised the following verse, to amuse him:
>
> Where are you coming from, O peerless one*
> who is the sun for whom the world's a sphere?
> Then he smiled and promptly answered:
> From a spot whose solitude pleases the hermit*
> Where rascals can hide, if they transgress.[84]
>
> I could not but kiss his hand, for he was my master, whom I honoured and revered.

Ibn Khallikān follows this with a biography of Sāra al-Qūṭīya, based on the work of Ibn al-ʿAfīf.

Ibn al-Qūṭīya's formal verse is praised by Yāqūt in the *Majmaʿal-*

udabā' and in the *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus* of al-Fatḥ ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUbaydallāh al-Qaysī (d. 529/1134 or 535/1140). They quote some couplets celebrating the beauty of nature, a style for which *Andalusī* poets of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries became famous. These must have been written before Ibn al-Qūṭīya ceased to compose poetry. Yāqūt says:

> … At the beginning of his career he composed poetry, reaching the limits of mastery and excellence in his opening and closing verses, in his choice of graceful expressions and noble meanings. But he gave it up and turned to introspection and solitude.

He adds that it was while Ibn al-Qūṭīya was returning from one of these periods of solitary introspection on his estate near Cordova *(munfaridan fihā ʿan al-nās)* that Ibn Hudhayl met him, and inspired his improvised couplet quoted above.[85]

When Ibn al-Faraḍī says that Ibn al-Qūṭīya dictated his anecdotes of *Anda-lusī* history from memory, it is not clear whether he speaks with admiration or opprobrium. In any event he was merely stating a fact. He spoke as a historian himself, but he was not aware of any written version of the *History* of Ibn al-Qūṭīya so far as we know. He only mentions attending classes in Arabic language with Ibn al-Qūṭīya, but he must have known of his role as a relater of *akhbār.* Nevertheless, it is only when he talks of his former teacher's classes in Tradition and jurisprudence, that he mentions his inaccuracy and lack of authority.

In his biographical entry Ibn al-Faraḍī makes no mention of the *Ta'rīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus.* Had Ibn al-Qūṭīya produced such a work one might reliably assume that he would have done so; and that he would probably have used it, had it existed, when compiling his own *Ta'rīkh 'ulamā' al-Andalus.* The quotations attributed to Ibn al-Qūṭīya in his work are not from the received text *History* and must come from another source: either a longer version, or his general fund of anecdotal material.

The editor

The first words of the *History* are: *Akhbaranā Abū Bakr Muḥammad… Ibn al-Qūṭīya qāla:*—(Abū Bakr Muḥammad… *Ibn al-Qūṭīya* told us; he said: …). This clearly indicates that we are hearing the relation at secondhand and that the pronoun 'us' means the circle (*ḥalqa*) of students seated around the author. Otherwise the text would have begun immediately with: *qāla al-mu'allif, qāla Abū Bakr Muḥammad* …or just *qāla,* as all texts copied from an author's holograph normally commence. The term *akhbāranī/nā* is rarely used in relaying information in Arabic manuscripts, though here its use is obviously appropriate as Ibn al-Qūṭīya was a relater of *akhbār.*

Was the text related in its entirety as a work in its own right by Ibn al-Qūṭīya, or did some one, the 'editor', decide to 'publish' his notes as a book after Ibn al-Qūṭīya's death? It has even been suggested that the name of Ibn al-Qūṭīya was simply attached to the text by some later editor because he had read that Ibn al-Qūṭīya produced a work on the history of al-Andalus.[86] This speculation seems unlikely. The work begins with his name, and finishes with the words, written in the same hand as the rest of the text: 'The *History* of Ibn al-Qūṭīya is ended'. This would seem to indicate that it was a recognised text, transmitted in the traditional oral manner, during the author's lifetime. The problem, as we have seen, is that there is no evidence for its *written* existence during the author's lifetime.

However, Fierro remarks that although Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ's biographical entry for Ibn al-Qūṭīya follows that of Ibn al-Faraḍī, it contains one important edition—*lahu taṣānīf fī ta'rīkhihā*, 'He produced works on its history [of al-Andalus]'. There is evidence that there was a later recension of Ibn al-Faraḍī's *Ta'rīkh 'ulama' al-Andalus* which contained some additions, including, perhaps, the phrase given in Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ.[87] He gives another quotation from al-Faraḍī relating to Ibn al-Qūṭīya which does not occur in the printed editions of his *Ta'rīkh 'ulama' al-Andalus:* 'He led a simple life; aesetic in his dress and piety. It is said he used to cheat in his *ḥadīths*.'[88]

We have to consider the possibility—indeed probability—of the text having been written down only after the author's death. It may have been written up from notes taken down by a student over several sessions of *akhbār.* It may have been compiled from the notes of more than one student. It may have been based on notes of the author.

Although al-Faraḍī says he recited his *akhbār* from memory, he only knew the author at the end of his career after he had been teaching for many years, so this does not discount the possibility of his having had notes, at some stage. As the text is short, it could have been committed from memory. Muslim scholars were famous for prodigious feats in this regard. But if there was a much longer version, as the passages quoted by Ibn Ḥayyān suggest, there may well have been something in written form, dating from after 367/977.

Traditionally, a text written-up or copied after the death of an author had to receive the approval of a licensed transmitter of the text; someone who had the *ijāza* of the author.[89] If the text of the *History* was originally longer than the received text how could this be given? The question would not arise if the work was a summary, because the person making the summary would then become an author in his own right. But summaries were normally given another title, or at least the original title would be preceded by the word *khilāṣa* (summary). This is not the case here.

Among the author's pupils there are two scholars who could well have acted as editors. The first is his son ʿUmar; the second his nephew ʿAbd al-Malik, both of whom were also known as *Ibn al-Qūṭīya*.

Their biographies are given by Ibn Bashkuwāl:

> **ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz** known as *Ibn al-Qūṭīya*. He was from Cordova. His *kunya* was Abū Ḥafṣ. He taught on the authority of his father and others. Abū Bakr ibn al-Ghurrāb al-Baṭalyawsī studied tradition with him, and said that he was a man-of-letters and a poet.
>
> **ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Sulaymān ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Umawī.** He was from Seville. His *kunya* was Abū'l-Walīd and he was known as *Ibn al-Qūṭīya*. He was active in the fields of jurisprudence, Arabic and mathematics; adept at drawing up documents, perceptive in recognising their defects; a transmitter of historical anecdotes *(akhbār);* learned in literature. His transmissions *(riwāyatuhu)* in these fields were extensive, and his teachers from Cordova and Seville were many. He transmitted on the authority of his uncle Abū Bakr, Ibn al-Sālim al-Qāḍī, Ābān ibn alSarrāj, and their ilk. Ibn Khazraj mentions him and says that he died in 429/1037 at the age of seventy-five years. He heard his first lecture in 356/966 in Cordova.[90]

ʿAbd al-Malik (351–429/962–1037) sounds exactly the kind of person to have turned his uncle's transmitted anecdotes—oral or in note form

—into an edition. He had all the qualifications necessary to do so, plus his family connection, which would have given him access to his uncle's papers. If he attended his first lecture in 356/966, he would have been only four years old, so he could hardly have attended his uncle's erudite sessions at that age. But he would have been fifteen when Ibn al-Qūṭīya died in 367/977, and could have been his student from the age of ten. He may well have known Ibn al-Faraḍī who, according to his own testimony, attended the final teaching sessions of Ibn al-Qūṭīya's exposition of the *al-Kamil* of al-Mubarrad, in 367/977. By a coincidence they were both born in the same year, 351/962, and were fifteen years old when Ibn al-Qūṭīya died.

Fierro makes an important objection to the idea that a relative of the author may have been the editor. Where the text of the *History* mentions ʿĪsā ibn Muzāḥim and his marriage to Sāra al-Qūṭīya it says: *wa-hūwa jadd al- Qūṭīya*. 'He was the ancestor of the [*Banū*] *al-Qūṭīya*'. She believes this to be an interpolation by the editor. Ibn al-Qūṭīya she reasons, would have related something like *wa-hūwa jaddī*, 'He was my ancestor'; and if the editor was a relative he would have written something similar. However, if it is not an interpolation, why should the author not have said, 'He was the ancestor of the [*Banū*] *al-Qūṭīya*'? He was speaking in the context of several families of Seville who were descended from the two husbands of Sāra al-Qūṭīya, ʿĪsā ibn Muzāḥim and ʿUmayr ibn Saʿīd al-Lakhmī, through the latter's grandson Ḥabīb who was *jadd Banī Sayyid, jadd Banī Ḥajjāj etc*.

When the teacher had said, 'He was my ancestor', a student noting down his words, even if he was part of the same family, might have changed them to the form in which they have come down to us. Most texts normally refer to the author in the third person when the work is being transmitted: The author said …, or the author says … *(qāla/yaqūl)'*, not 'I (the author) said/ say … *(qultu/aqūl)'*. As the editor transmitted the text anonymously perhaps it was a joint effort—it would have been out of keeping for him to have asserted his own existence by writing 'my/our ancestor' if he had not already identified himself as the transmitter, summariser, etc. Finally, the fact that the text is deficient at exactly that point, suggests that there was some hesitation on the part of the transmitter, as to what he should write, and that may date from the time the text was being transcribed from the words of the author during a session *(majlis).* Other parts of the text however seem to be several recensions removed from that time.

The date of the *History*

Dates in the History

The *History* has very few dates. Many of the events mentioned can only be dated by reference to other works. The last date given records the fall of the *Banū Qasī* in Aragón and their replacement by the Tujībids: 'In the year 312/ 924–925 the *Banū Qasī* surrendered and were removed from the Upper Marches. Control of the area went to Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tujībī and his sons. The *Banū Qasī* became part of the royal army': *History,* 140.

The last dates are the capture of Saragossa from the Tujībids, the capture of Bobastro and the surrender of the Banū *Ḥafsūn* and Toledo: 'After that Ibn Marwān [al-Jillīqī] revolted; then Toledo and then Saragossa. But all who resisted him [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III] were overcome.' The last dateable event, the capture of Saragossa, occurred in 326/937.

Why does the text stop at that point? Ibn al-Qūṭīya lived for another 40 years and he was probably in his late thirties in 326/937. According to Chalmeta it was because Ibn al-Qūṭīya was an *akhbārī* (a relater of anecdotes), not a *mu'arrikh* (historian); that is, he only related what he had been told, not what he knew.

Discounting the final anecdote about the slave girl *Bazi*ʿ*a* the text ends with the re-establishment of Umayyad authority in Badajoz in 318/930, Toledo in 320/932 and Saragossa in 326/937. The Lower, Middle and Upper Marches were under central control once more. The recapture of those cities marked the ultimate triumph of Umayyad authority. Much of the *History* deals with the challenge to central authority in the Marches and within al-Andalus itself. But with the arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, those challenges were finally defeated. Between 326/937 and the death of Ibn al-Qūṭīya in 367/977 during the reign of Hisham II (366–399/976–1009), al-Andalus enjoyed supremacy outside its borders and stability within them. For a client of the Umayyads it would have been logical to finish on a high note: Umayyad triumph, final and for ever. Even if the received text dates from after the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate in al-Andalus, that collapse would not necessarily have been regarded as permanent.

The date of the received text

There are a number of clues or pointers in the text that shed some light on the question of the date. None is absolutely conclusive.

Because the formula *raḍī'Allāh 'anhu* appears after the name of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, the received text must date from after his death in 350/961. That is, if it is not the addition of a person who later edited or transmitted the text after the death of Ibn al-Qūṭīya. The conventional formulae that appear after the deceased masters of the author, however —*raḥimahu'Allāh*—were added by the author. If there was no expanded edition of Ibn al-Faraḍī's Ta'rīkh-*ʿulamā' al-Andalus,* in which 'works on history' by Ibn al-Qūṭīya were mentioned, then we can assume that the *History* must date from after Ibn al-Faraḍī's death in 403/1013.

At several points in the text the author, or editor, refers to events whose repercussions continued to his own time, or structures that survived until his own time: *ilā yawmina hādhā,* 'until our day'. In some cases it is possible to fix a date after which the expression would no longer be valid.

After the Revolt of the *Arrabal* in 202/817 the inhabitants of this quarter of Cordova were expelled. A group made their way to Alexandria, but were forced to leave after disturbances in the city. The text of the *History* says, They chose the island of *Iqrīṭish* [Crete], where they stay, until this day.' An *Andalusī* dynasty was founded in Crete by Abū 'Umar al-Ballūṭī Ḥafs which lasted until 350/961.[91] If this statement was made by the author, that must have occurred between 350/961 and the date of the arrival of the news of the end of *Andalusī* rule in Crete: 352/963 at the latest.

The emir al-Mundhir (273–276/886–888) 'appointed Aḥmad ibn al-Barā' ibn Malik al-Qurashī governor of Saragossa and the Upper March in opposition to the *Banū Qasī*… At that time Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al- Tujībī, called Abū—*Yaḥyā* who was the ancestor of the Tujībids—had been on good terms with the emir since he was a boy. The emir ʿAbdallāh wrote to him Aḥmad and commanded him to assassinate Ahmadibnal-Bara'… . Thus the Tujībids controlled Saragossa: from then to our time *min yawm'idh ilā waqtihim hādhā.'*

The Tujībids controlled Saragossa until they were replaced by the *Banū Hūd* around 430–431/1039. Thus they were still in power at the time of Ibn al-Qūṭīya's death in 367/977. If the final words were added by the transmitter/ editor rather than the author, they cannot be much later than 431/1039. This would seem to give us the last possible date

for the completion of the received text.[92]

There is, however, the question of the 'Qur'ān of ʿUthmān', which has some bearing on the date of the received text. This venerated copy, whose origins are shrouded in mystery, was believed by many to be associated with caliph ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān (23–35/664–656), either because it was one of the 'mastercopies' of the text sent by ʿUthmān to several major cities of the Islamic provinces, Makka, Basra, Kufa and Damascus, or because it had his blood stains on some of the leaves. This manuscript was housed in the Great Mosque and was the pride of the citizens of Cordova. Nevertheless, they agreed to its removal by the sons of the Almohad ruler ʿAbd al-Mu'min II in 552/1157, who presented it to their father as a gift. The manuscript was treated with reverence bordering on adulation by ʿAbd al-Mu'min, who had a sumptuous casket made to receive it and a special mechanical lectern to display it in the Great Mosque of Marrakesh. Its later extraordinary history has been documented. It went, finally, to the bottom of the Mediterranean, when the ship carrying it to Morocco from Tunis sank in 750/1349–1350. Almost nothing is known about the manuscript before the sixth/twelfth century, other than that it was said to have belonged to the Umayyads of Cordova and to have circulated among them.

The only earlier reference to the existence of this manuscript appears to be the account in the *History,* 110, where we are told that the judge, ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdallāh, was made to swear an oath of his innocence in an embezzlement charge, on the Qur'ān of ʿUthmān, which was brought to him in secret by a palace eunuch.

The manuscript is specifically mentioned twice: *al-muṣḥaf alladhī yunsab ilā ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān,* 'The copy of the Qur'ān attributed to ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān'. If correct, this would mean that the Qur'ān was in Cordova—perhaps in the hands of the ruling family, rather than in the Great Mosque—around 263/876. But the lack of independent corroborative evidence may mean that this reference to 'the copy of the Qur'ān of ʿUthmān'—as opposed to simply 'a copy of the Qur'ān'—is a later interpolation.

Al-Khushanī relates the same story, but in his version there is no mention of the 'Qur'ān of ʿUthmān' being brought to the judge; only *a copy* of the Qur'ān, which the eunuch carried in his sleeve. Sleeves were a convenient way to transport items, so he was not necessarily hiding the manuscript. But this implies something of modest proportions, not a large manuscript, which copies of the Qur'ān attributed to ʿUthmān seem to have been. If the 'Qur'ān of ʿUthmān' had been the one used for the oath, one would have thought that this fact would have been important enough for al-Khushanī to mention it. So was the story of this revered manuscript added to the text by a later

editor, not for reasons of deliberate falsehood, but simply because he thought that for so shocking an occasion—the possible impeachment of the chief judge of Cordova—nothing less than the Qur'ān of ʿUthmān would have to be used?

Unfortunately we do not know when the famous manuscript came to Cordova. The *History* is—as far as we know—the only text to mention it before the sixth/twelfth century, though it may have been in Cordova in the previous century if, as later historians say, it circulated among the Umayyads before being placed in the treasury of the Great Mosque of Cordova.

If it did not arrive in Cordova until sometime in the the fifth/eleventh century, it is evidence that the received text dates from after the time of its arrival,—or more likely, that the reference to the 'Qur'ān of ʿUthmān' must be an interpolation which was inserted after that date. Even if the latter is true, it would mean that the text was still being added to *after* the death of the author.

The sources of the history

At the beginning of the text the author quotes his sources. These consist of four scholars and two written works. In the course of the text some other oral sources are mentioned, but no other written sources are given. There is no evidence of his use of any other written sources though that does not discount their existence. But there is evidence of oral sources other than those mentioned.

The oral sources

- **Muhammad ibn Saʿīd ibn Muḥamad al-Murādī** is so far unknown in biographical literature. Fierro suggests that he may have been from Cabra, as Muradī was a common name there, but he was possibly from Seville.[93]
- **Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā' ibn [Yaḥyā ibn Shamūs ibn ʿUmar al-Dākhil]** called *Ibn al-Ṭanjīya al-Ishbīlī* (d. 300 (912)) was from Seville. His ancestor ʿUmar 'the Immigrant' came with Balj and was among the members of the *jund* (military contingent) of Homs who were settled in Seville. He was a pupil of ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/852) and a man of letters and *akhbārī*. He probably supplied information on Seville from family traditions or from Ibn Ḥabīb through his father. His father Zakarīyā' called *Ibn al-Ṭanjīya* was one of the last transmitters to know Ibn Ḥabīb. He is mentioned by **Abū ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿIttāb.** He died in Seville in 300/912. He had another son ʿAbdallāh, who was mentioned by al-Rāzī.[94]
- **Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ayman** (d. 330/942). He was a descendant of a client of al-Ḥakam I or Hishām I.[95] He spent many years in the East and studied in Makka, Kufa, Baghdad and Cairo as well as Quairouan. Upon his return to al-Andalus, he had many pupils. He was a well known Malikī jurisprudent and traditionist of Cordoba, who introduced many oriental works into al-Andalus. He transmitted much information on the judges of al-Andalus. He may have supplied information on al-Ḥakam and Hishām. He was born in 252/866.[96]
- **Muḥammad** (d. 314/926). He was a famous jurist of Cordoba, descended from a client of Abū ʿUthmān ʿUbaydallah ibn ʿUthmān who has a major role in the *History* because of help he gave to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿawīya in his attempt to install himself on the throne of al-Andalus after 138/756. His son was killed by Hishām I, and family fortunes appear to have declined thereafter. He seems to have had considerable knowledge of the history of al-Andalus, and was a transmitter of *akhbār*. He was quoted on several occasions by Ibn Ḥayyān in the *al-Muqtabis*. Unlike other informants, several anecdotes are attributed to him by Ibn al-Qūṭīya giving the *impression* that he was the latter's main informant.[97]
- **Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Bazīʿ ibn Waḍḍāh** (199 or 202–286/7/814 or 817–900), may not have been an original source, if Ibn al-Qūṭīya was born around 277–282/890–895. He was a teacher and 'reformist' scholar

who was born in Cordova and a pupil of Muḥammad ibn Ayman.[98] He was mentioned several times by Ibn Ḥayyān in the *al-Muqtabis*. He is mentioned as the relayer of two anecdotes in the *History* concerning al-Ḥakam I. The first of these is also related by al-Khushanī in his *Quḍāt Qurṭuba* and the author—or authors—of the *Akhbār majmūʿa*. Al-Khushanī also relates an anecdote about Muḥammad ibn Bashīr chief judge of Cordova during the reign al-Ḥakam I which he gives on the authority of Ibn al-Qūṭīya.[99] This is not contained in the *History* and must belong to that larger fund of anecdotes which Ibn al-Qūṭīya related. The latter's sources are given as Ibn Lubāba *and* **Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Qūn**. The second was another of Ibn al-Qūṭīya's teachers in Seville. This suggests that he may have supplied information on other aspects of the *History*. His family came from Beja and there are several references in the *History* to Beja during the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, for which Ibn al-Qūn might have been his source.[100]

In fact, any or all of his acknowledged teachers could have been informants for the *History*. Another two, **Aḥmad ibn Khālid** and **Aslam ibn ʿUmar,** are quoted as sources by Ibn Ḥayyān in the *al-Muqtabis,* together with Ibn Lubāba.[101]

- **Ḥabīb ibn Maslam**a [ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿUmayr] was a member of the *Banū Maslama,* not the *Ḥajjāj*, though both familes were from Seville. He was a distant relative of Ibn al-Qūṭīya and is mentioned as a source for some information on Ibn Ḥafsūn. After Ḥajjāj ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was murdered by his brother Muḥammad in 301/913. Aḥmad ibn Maslama was briefly ruler of Seville for four months.[102] Ibn al-Qūṭīya's father ʿUmar was judge of Seville during Ibn Maslama's period of rule.
- **ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿammal al-Nadīm** called ***al- Yamāma*** relates some information on two of the sons of Muḥammad I, ʿUthmān and Ibrāhīm.[103]

Other information is introduced anonymously by the use of expressions like: *fa-qāla baʿḍ al-nās, yuqāl, qālū* ('Some say', 'it is said', etc.)'. According to Chalmeta these devices are typical of the *akhbār* genre, that is to say, anecdotes given without a *rāwī* (transmitter).

One surprising omission in the *History* is any reference to Ibn al-Qūṭīya's father **'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz,** also called *Ibn al-Qūṭīya*. His father came from Seville, and was not only judge there for a time, but a leading figure in the politics of the city. According to Ibn Ḥayyān he played a major role in the restoration of central authority to the city in 301/913.[104] He knew several of the participants mentioned in the *History*, like Aḥmad ibn Maslama, the sons of Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj, Badr the chief minister of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, and even the youthful emir

himself, who rewarded him for his help by making him judge of Écija in 301/914. The crisis that resulted in the voluntary surrender of Ibn Maslama lasted four months, in the course of which ʿUmar and his family were threatened with death by the notables of Seville.

During the crisis Ibn Ḥafṣūn came to Seville, where ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz probably met him. Perhaps the quote regarding Ibn Ḥafṣūn attributed to Aḥmad ibn Maslama *History,* 121, came via ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, not to mention other things that occurred in the second half of the third/ninth century, for which no source is given.

The restoration of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's rule in Seville comes within the period covered by the *History.* Badajoz was taken from the descendants of Ibn Marwān al-Jillīqī in 318/930. Toledo was recovered in 320/932 and Saragossa in 326/937. But of Seville, which returned to the fold in 301/913, and the role of his father, there is not a word.

The written sources

Only two are given: the *Ta'rīkh faṭh al-Andalus* of ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb (174–238/790–852) and the *urjūza* of Tammām ibn ʿAlqama (187–283/ 803–886). In the Paris manuscript, folio 4 recto, these are referred to as two *separate* works, as the word *wa,* 'and', is written between the two. The *Faṭḥ al-Andalus* was thus not a prose version of Tammām ibn ʿAlqama's *urjūza,* as several scholars have asserted.[105]

A *Universal History* by ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb has survived, which includes a history of al-Andalus to the year 275/888–889. The manuscript of Ibn Ḥabīb's work in the Bodleian Library, Oxford was examined by Dozy, who scathingly dismissed it.[106] But according to Makki, who re-examined the text, the work does not give a true picture of Ibn Ḥabīb's contribution to the history of al-Andalus. His work was referred to not only by Ibn al-Qūṭīya, but by al-Ghassānī, al-Malikī, Ibn al-Faraḍī and al-Ḥumaydī. There are also references in the *Crónica del Moro Rasis* and the *Crónica de Don Prudencio de Sandoval,* bishop of Pamplona.[107] But none of these quotations occurs in the Bodleian manuscript. This, according to Makki's analysis of the text, is because the Oxford manuscript consists only of notes made by his pupil Ibn Abī'l-Riqāʿ and some later additions by Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā al-Maghamī (d. 288/900).[108]

The *urjūza* of Tammām ibn ʿAlqama has not survived but we know that it dealt with events up to the time of ʿAbdal Rahmān II (206–238/822–852).[109] It is described in the *Ḥulla al-siyarā'* of Ibn al-Abbār.[110]

Tammām was married to the daughter of the Christian count *(Qawmis)* of al-Andalus. Fierro suggests that she may have been a descendant of Arṭabās, among whose descendants was Abū Saʿīd al-Qawmis, and that he may have collected anecdotes from his wife.[111]

We have no way of knowing whether Ibn al-Qūṭīya obtained more information from these two works, as he does not cite them anywhere else. As he was not in the habit of giving his sources for most of the events he related, one may ask why he cited these written sources at the point where he did?

The citation follows the first section dealing with the role of the Visigoths who collaborated with the invaders; their ability to secure their own estates through the acquisition of caliphal documents and the help given to Sāra al-Qūṭīya by the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd. This may

be explained by the lack, or more probably loss, of a family tradition regarding those early events. This seems to be supported by the fact that although the fate and fortune of the three sons of Witiza depended on their possession of the *sijill* given to them by al-Walīd, Ibn al-Qūṭīya was not able to give the full text. He mentions only one stipulation about the respect they were to be accorded. Yet we know from Ibn al-Qūṭīya himself that some families still had ancient documents in their hands two-and-a-half centuries after the conquest.[112]

If this vital document of the *Banū'l-Qūṭīya* had disappeared by the midfourth/tenth century—along with their vast estates, the *ṣafāyā'l-mulūk*—what remained of any family traditions, written or oral on the events of the second/ eighth century? Probably something, but not much, if Ibn al-Qūṭīya's scanty account is anything to go by.

We do still have the two lively accounts of Arṭabās: one telling of his generosity towards the proud but penniless Arab chieftains who came seeking relief; the other citing his downfall and reconcilation with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. However, Ibn al-Qūṭīya does not cite these as part of family tradition. When he first mentions the existence of these anecdotes: *History,* 50, that he proposes to relate he says: they have been transmitted to us by the learned ones *(rawiyanā ʿan al-ʿulamā').* In the case of the second anecdote, he says that it was told him by Ibn Lubāba who related it on the authority of his teachers (*ḥakā Ibn Lubāba... ʿamman adrakahu min al-shuyūkh: History,* 76).

Here we should mention Ribera's theory that these accounts are part of a corpus of popular legends, some of which had been versified. This at least was part of his thesis as he attempted to prove the existence of a fourth/tenth century tradition of popular poetry, like the later *Poema de Mio Cid,* but in the Romance dialect, and actually adapted some of the anecdotes given by Ibn al-Qūṭīya into verse to try and prove his point. Among these, he thought, were the Arṭabās stories.[113]

The plan and purpose of the *History*

The *History* is not just a collection of random anecdotes. It is true that several are in the wrong chronological order. The eclipse of 218/833 which caused consternation in Cordova happened before the first Viking invasion of 230/844. In the text it is mentioned after the invasion. The final anecdote in the text about the slave girl *Bazi'a* actually took place in the reign of Muhammad I. It is also true that some seem trivial at first glance. The first thing we learn about the pious ruler Hishām I is his irritation at having his cloak ripped by a dog.

But there is a plan to the *History* and on the whole events occur in chronological order.[114] The text begins with the invasion of 92/711 and can be divided into two themes. The first is the relation of what we might call 'folktales': the violation of Julian's daughter by Roderik; Julian's revenge; Ṭāriq's dream; his cunning ruse to terrify the enemy; the fabulous temple of Toledo; the wagon-train of Visigoth captives in golden girdles marching east to Damascus. None of these events carries any historical weight, apart from, possibly, the story of the temple. The second theme is the role of Ibn al-Qūṭīya's forebears in the conquest. Given the importance of memory in Islamic scholarship, and the significance of genealogy in Arab society, we can assume that Ibn al-Qūṭīya's links to the Visigothic past were genuine, particularly as most descendants of converts wanted to deny their pre-Islamic past and concoct an 'Arab' ancestor.

Ibn al-Qūṭīya's mention of his ancestors, his relation of anecdotes about Arṭabās—not a direct ancestor—and his occasional mention of Christians and their descendants who held important positions in al-Andalus, like his contemporaries the Christian judge Ḥafṣ ibn Albar and the secretary Sa'īd ibn Qawmis, represents a stage in an increasingly important phenomenon. Chrystis suggests that each story in the *History* involving a person of Christian origin, and each mention of the role of a Christian in the society of al-Andalus alludes to a coming-to-terms with the Muslim conquest on the part of Christians.[115] Nevertheless the attitude of Christians in al-Andalus, in so far as we know about it, was not uniform. Some were eager to integrate; others kept themselves aloof in monasteries; and there was a steady trickle of emigration by Christians from al-Andalus to the northern Christian kingdoms.

But certainly by the mid-fourth/tenth century, Christians and Jews in al-Andalus were becoming integrated into Islamic society: in some cases they were able enough to occupy governmental posts—as the story of Qawmis ibn Antunīyān shows. But they were never on an equal footing with Muslims, whether Arabs, Berbers or converts—as the opposition to Qawmis by the Arab and Berbers shows: *History,* 115–116.

Whatever our interpretation of these anecdotes, Ibn al-Qūṭīya was first and foremost a Muslim, and secondly a client of the Umayyads, and presumably he would have preferred conversion of Christians and Jews to any other status.

The issuing of treaties/capitulation agreements like the one given to the sons of Witiza is echoed elsewhere by the Treaty of Theodimir [Tudmīr] and in the *History* by the surrender of Cassius/Casio (ancestor of the *Banū Qasī*) and his conversion before the Umayyad caliph of Damascus. These are also related to the idea of integration, but this time, it is the integration of the *Muwallads*. By the end of the fourth/tenth century Muslim converts and their descendants formed the majority of Muslims in al-Andalus. Acceptance of their position in al-Andalus by the Arab elite had become an issue, as it had in other parts of the Muslim world. All of the treaties and trips to meet the caliph may have been later inventions, but they tied the descendants of their recipients into the history of al-Andalus and helped to legitimise their position.[116]

During the reigns of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300–350/912–961) and al-Ḥakam II (350–366/961–976), that is, during the lifetime of Ibn al-Qūṭīya, the power of the Arab aristocracy was steadily curtailed in favour of the *Muwallads,* from whom a new bureaucratic and military elite was drawn. This was accompanied by an interest in, and patronage of, scholarship, science and learning, particularly by al-Ḥakam II.[117]

It was during this period that *Andalusī* history began to be seriously collected and edited. In this the al-Rāzī family played an important role. Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Rāzī who came from the East in 250/864, became an advisor to the emir Muḥammad I and wrote several historical works. His son Aḥmad called *al-Ta'rīkhī,* 'the Historian' (d. 344/955), and his grandson ʿĪsā, both produced histories. The work of ʿĪsā is believed to have continued to the time of Hishām II (366–399/976–1009 and 400–403/1010–1013). Both were contemporaries of Ibn al-Qūṭīya.[118]

The second part of the *History* deals with the period down to 139/756, when al-Andalus was ruled by governors appointed by the caliph or his governor in *Ifrīqīya*. The most important event to occur in this section is the settlement of the Arab *junds,* or military contingents,

which arrived under Balj ibn Bishr and were settled in different regions at the expense of the Christians and Jews. Many of their descendants are mentioned in the *History* and they played a major if turbulent role in the later history of al-Andalus.

The Berbers arrived in infinitely greater numbers, and friction between Arabs and Berbers led to the outbreak of several serious revolts, one of which is mentioned as affecting mainly North Africa. The main Berber revolt in al-Andalus under Shaqyā al-Miknāsī which began in 122/740 and lasted several years, is not mentioned.

The next section deals with the arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I in al-Andalus, in 137/755 after the overthrow of the Umayyad Caliphate of Damascus. It explains how he was able to gain power with the help of the Umayyad clients of al-Andalus and the assistance of the Muḍarid Arab tribes, who supported him against the ruling Qaysid faction of Arab tribes.

The final part of the *History* relates the story of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's successors down to the early years of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III after 300/912. This was a dangerous time for the *Andalusī* Umayyads, who were beset by internal and external enemies. The most effective of the former was the rebel and apostate, ʿUmar ibn Ḥafsūn, who established himself in the area north of Málaga. Throughout the reign of the emir ʿAbdallāh (275–300/888–912) he gained in strength, though tactical and political mistakes had weakened his position by the time of his death in 305/917. His sons continued in rebellion but were unable to resist the armies of Cordova and eventually surrendered to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in 316/928. This was followed by the consolidation of Umayyad power throughout al-Andalus, so their story finishes on a note of triumph.

Oddly, the dramatic climax is followed by an entirely irrelevant anecdote, which is totally out of its historical context. Perhaps this more than anything else has given the impression that the *History* is a disparate collection of unrelated anecdotes. This is very far from the truth. There is more to the text than the mere relation of *akhbār*.

While the text is undoubtedly *akhbār,* the relation of anecdotes, it cannot be regarded as mere story-telling. Not at least when *akhbār* were related in the surroundings of the mosque to a circle of students, by men whose lives were otherwise devoted to the study of religious sciences: tradition, jurisprudence and grammar when it was required for better understanding of the Qur'ān and *Sunna*. *Akhbār* initially meant traditions which could be traced back to the Prophet, while *āthār* meant those that could be traced back to his companions. So the relaying of anecdotes, even when they dealt with decidedly worldly matters like politics and intrigues over succession, often had a moral purpose.[119]

Not a few of Ibn al-Qūṭīya's students went on to become important men whose advice and opinions the emirs and caliphs sought out. He was certainly aware of this and the anecdotes he related, which were later written down to become the *History,* often have an important moral lesson to give. Although he was a dedicated supporter of the Umayyads and spoke first and formost as an Umayyad client, this did not mean recommending blind obedience and uncritical support by the judiciary, advisors palace servants, soldiers, etc. In many anecdotes dissent is noted and by implication, praised, even though it could have fatal consequences for the dissenting official.

In her analysis of this question Fierro has given several examples and it is not necessary to repeat them here. They all illustrate the point that although the author spoke as a confirmed client of the Umayyads who regarded the troublesome rebels—Arabs, Berbers or Iberian Muslims—as enemies of his masters, and therefore of Islam, he supported and praised opposition based on genuine religious conviction. He encouraged loyalty to the regime, but ridiculed Arab notions of superiority.

Ibn al-Qūṭīya wants to show that the power of the Umayyads is divinely given, but can only be maintained if they govern with justice. For this they need the help of faithful counsellors, and the awarding of important posts to men of impeccable conduct. This is the overall theme of the final part of the *History* and many of the anecdotes are related to illustrate it. It is this which can be said to be the purpose of the *History,* whoever may have finally assembled the text as it now stands, and whenever, or wherever that occurred.

Notes

1 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes 1883–1895,* MS 1867 (706; 764 (2)). Among the remainder only the Madrid manuscript is important: Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, *Catálogo de las manuscritos árabes,* 1889, MS CXX, currently MS 4996.

2 Chalmeta in his survey of the editions and translations of the *History* suggested that the *al-Tawfīq* 'edition' may have been based on the 'copy' of Sīd Ḥamūda: Chalmeta (1973) 38.

3 Fierro (1989) 485–486. Ibn ʿAzzūz (1952).

4 Ibn El-Kouthyia/Cherbonneau (1853), (1856).

5 Ibn El-Kouthyia/Cherbonneau (1853) 458: *Ce fut en 1845 dont M. de Slane signala à mon attention le Fotouh elandalous, dont il n'existe qu'un exemplaire en Europe*.

6 Ibn El- Kouthyia/Cherbonneau (1 853) 4 59: on *lui doit plusieurs ouvrages remarquables sur la lexicographie. C'est le premier grammarien qui ait songé à rédiger un traité de conjugation arabe* *Kitāb taṣārīf al-afʿāl*. Then below at 459, note 1 referring to this grammatical work of Ibn al-Qūṭīya he says: *Sid Hamouda ben Elferkoun de Constantine possède, dans sa riche collection de manuscrits un exemplaire trèsancien de cet ouvrage*. The 1856 volume makes no mention of any copy of the History, and at that time Cherbonneau was living in Constantine where he taught Arabic. The library did contain important historical works on al-Andalus. Part of the *al-Muqtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān was found in the Library of Sīd Ḥamūda in Constantine by Fagnan and published by Antuña in 1937.

7 The 'manuscript from Istanbul which has since disappeared', mentioned by Chrystis (2002) 164, is an error. She refers to the supposed manuscript from Constantine, not Constaninople (Istanbul).

8 Referring to the Paris manuscript he says: …*il porte le titre de Iftitah non Fatouh que lui donne Cherbonneau, probablement il pris ce dernier mot sur l'exemplaire que possédait Sid Hamouda ben Elferkoun de Constantine, copie dont je n'ai pu avoir communication:* Ibn Elqouthiya/Houdas (1889) 217, note 1.

9. Briquet (1968); Valls i Subirà (1970).

10 See the facsímile of the *al-Muqtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān: Ibn Ḥayyān (1999).

11 See Appendix vi for a posible identification.

12 Folios 23 recto-24 recto, begins with *wa-kānat;* folios 27 recto-28 recto, begins *wa-'Abd al-Raḥmān*; folios 35 verso—36 verso, begins with *fa-ḥaddatha*. All of these are 'keywords' copied in large black script.

13 Folio 30 recto.

14 Chalmeta (1973) 40–41; Ibn-Akutya (1982) 20–21; Fierro (1989) 494.

15 Towards the end of the manuscript *hā'* is also written a few times as an open circle containing a dot.

16 *Hā': e*nd, termination, paragraph mark, textual divider, abbreviation; *alkh: et cetera,* abbreviation; also *hā',* marginal note, gloss, abbreviation. Gacek (2001) 146, 4, 147. For a clear example of some of the uses of *hā'* in a *maghrib*ī manuscript dated 524/1124: see Moritz (1905) ii, pl. 177.

17 Al-Abyārī suggests that it was the anonymous scribe and student who inserted the reference in the text to Ibn Ḥabīb's *Faṭh al-Andalus* Ibn-Akutya (1982) 22.

18 Appendix i.

19 Déroche (2005) 99.

20 MS arabe 4484, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque du Roi.*

21 MS arabe 4485, *Catalogus manuscriptorum arabicum.*

22 Paris (1883–1895) ii, for a detailed account of the early collecting activities of the Bibliothèque Royale. Also, Roman (1990) 80–90.

23 Jones (1987) 96–110 and notes 4, 12. An erudite summary of the the collecting activities of Rennaisance scholars in the sixteenth century, and the difficulties they faced.

24 The years of Sultan Ismāʿīl (1082–1139/1672–1727) of Morocco were among the worst: Brooks (1693); Lane-Poole (1890).

25 Paris (1883–1895) ii.

26 Fierro (1989) 492.

27 Dozy (1847–1851) 40.

28 The passage quoted by Ibn Abī'l-Fayyāḍ from the *Ta'rīkh al-Andalus* of Ibn al-

Kardabūs, is virtually identical in parts, though quoted without reference to Ibn al-Qūṭīya, and states how the sons of Witiza went over to Ṭāriq in return for getting back their estates, how this was confirmed by Mūsā and how they received a diploma, which stipulated that they were to rise for no one who entered their presence, nor for any one leaving it. The next two paragraphs are similar to lines from Ibn al-Qūṭīya. One quotes part of Ṭāriq's dream as he crossed over to alAndalus, which occurs in the *History*. The second refers to the descendants of the sons of Witiza and says: 'Among their descendants was the secretary (a1-*kātib*) Abū Saʿīd al-Qawmis, the ancestor of the *Banū Qawmis,* and the female ancestor *(Jidda)* of the *Banū'l-Qūṭīya*.' In the History, Abū Saʿīd is mentioned as descendant of Arṭabās, though not as *al-kātib,* and Ḥafṣ ibn Albar as a descendant of Rumulu, and although Sāra is mentioned she is not called the ancestor of the *Banū'l-Qūṭīya* this distinction goes to ʿĪsā ibn Muzāḥim: Ibn al-Kardabūs (1971) 179–180; Ibn-Akutya (1982) 30, 31, 34.

29 Álvarez de Morales (1978–1979) 48–50 and Fierro (1989) 490 and note 21.

30 Edited by M.Antuña, Paris (1937); by M.A.Makki, Cairo (1971); by P.Chalmeta, Madrid (1979). Part ii has been reproduced in facsimile.

31 See Ibn Ḥayyān (1999) 129 verso, 178 verso.

32 According to Fierro, all the quotations from Ibn al-Qūṭīya in the part of the *al-Muqtabis* published by Antuña in 1937 can be found in the *History,* with the exception of this one. However, these quotations are by no means identical to the received text of the *History,* so what Fierro means, if I understand her correctly, is that Ibn Ḥayyān's quotations simply refer to events also mentioned in the *History:* Fierro (1989) 491.

33 Ibn Ḥayyān (1937) 3.

34 MS arabe 1867 Bibliothèque Nationale, folios 48 recto-verso; Ibn-Akutya (1982) 123–124. All translations are by the author, unless stated otherwise.

35 Ibn Ḥayyān (1937) 86.

36 Ms arabe 1867 Bibliothèque Nationale, folios 25 recto-verso; Ibn-Akutya (1982) 75.

37 Ḥayyān (1971) 179.

38 MS Arabe 1867 Bibliothèque Nationale, folios 27 recto-28 recto; Ibn-Akutya (1982) 78–81.

39 Ibn Ḥayyān (1999) 188 recto-188 verso.

40 Ibn Ḥayyān (1979) 70–81.

41 Pedersen (1984) 20–36.

42 Ibn-Akutya (1982) 67.

43 Ibn-Akutya (1982) 29 and note 1; Fierro (1989) 495 and note 42.

44 Ibn-Akutya (1982) 78, 72, 105.

45 Vallvé (1965) 157. He suggests that it is the Cerro de la Caldera, south-east of the Sierra del Rey: note 49.

46 Ibn al-Qūṭīya (1957) 112; Ibn-Akutya (1982) 105; Ibn Ḥayyān (1979) 100/153; 119/ 184; Corriente and Viguera (1981) 100/123; 118/142; Vallvé (1965) 157, note 49.

47 Cardonne (1765) i, xxii.

48 Ibn El-Kouthyia/Cherbonneau (1853) 459, note 2: *M. Reinaud a fréquemment mis à contribution le recit d'lbn Alkouthiyia dans ses Invasions des Sarazins en France. (Voyez surtout p. 6, note, òu le savant academicien a determine la lecture et la signification du nom d'Ibn Alkouthyia, que des autres avant lui, avaient lu Ibn Alkautyr).*

49 It is given again on the final folio:…*akhbār fath al-Andalus*… But on the opening folio, 50 verso, it is called *Akhbār majmūʿa fī iftitāḥ al-Andalus*… Thus we do not really know the correct title of the *Akhbār majmūʿa*.

50 Ibn El-Kouthyia/Cherbonneau (1853) 458–474; (1856) 426–482, notes. 77–82.

51 Ibn Alqouthiya/Houdas (1889) 219–280.

52 Ibn al-Qūṭīya (1868); Derenbourg (1904) 18.

53 The manuscript has been re-numbered several times. In the original catalogue of Guillén Robles Madrid (1889) it is CXX, G.g. (Ganyangos) 142, and now 4996. Fierro (1989) 485 refers to it as 'MS 120', but it can only be located in the Biblioteca Nacional under the latter number, 4996.

54 Abenalcotía/Ribera (1926) viii.

55 P. de Gayangos, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties,* London (1840–1843), reprint (2004) xvi.

56 Although Gayangos does not give the press number of the manuscript, he does give its date, thanks to which it can be identified as MS Add. 7334, dated 1163/ 1750, copied (as he says), from an early version dated 1038/1629.

57 When Derenbourg published his *Notes Critiques* on the Arabic manuscript in the Biblioteca National, Madrid in 1904, it was the published (1868) edition of MS 4996 that he consulted: Derenbourg (1904) 18.

58 Abenalcotía/Ribera (1926). Al-Wazīr al-Ghassānī was Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who was sent on a mission to Spain by Sultan Ismāʿīl of Morocco in 1102/1690–1691 to ransom prisoners. He wrote an account, the *Riḥlat al-wazīr fī iftikāk al-asīr,* in which he used the *Akhbār fatḥ al-Andalus* EI 2nd ii, 1,021–1,022.

59 Ibn al-Qūṭīya (1957).

60 Remarks made by ʿInān in *Decisive Moments in the History of Islam,* Lahore (1949). He later published a large muti-volume history of al-Andalus in Arabic, Cairo (1960–1969), plus a gazetteer/guide to the Islamic monuments of Spain and Portugal *Al-Āthār al-islāmīya fī Isbānyā wa'l-Burtughāl:* Cairo (1962).

61 Ibn-Akutya (1982).

62 Dozy (1881) ii, App. lxxviii; translation, ii, 259–264; Fagnan (1924) 194–225.

63 Nichols (1975). In 1940 a translation into Urdu was published by J.Rahman, Allahabad. There is also a fairly recent Persian translation. But whether this or the former is based on the Paris manuscript or one of the Arabic editions I am unable to say, as I have not been able to track down a copy of either translation.

64 I have retained the Arabic forms of these and other Visigoth names, since there numerous variants in English and Spanish, the original spellings are unclear and even the names of some characters are uncertain.

65 Ibn Khallikān, quoting Ibn al-ʿAfīf's *Kitāb al-iḥtifāl fī [ta'rīkh] aʿlām al-rijāl,* Ibn Khallikān (1968–1972), no. 650. According to Ibn Bashkuwāl, Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAfīf al-Ta'rīkhī (d. 430/1038–1039) composed this work of anecdotes of caliphs, judges and jurists between 418/1027 and 420/ 1029 in Murcia. Ibn Bashkuwāl used the holograph of Ibn al-ʿAfīf' when composing his *Kitāb al-ṣila* Ibn Khallikān (1968–1972) iv, 371, note 2; Fierro (1989) 501, note 80.

66 Collins (2004) 140–143.

67 *Min al-mawālī al-barbar nasaba baytuhum ilā umm jadd Abīhim wa-hīya ibnat malik al-Andalus qabla dukhūl al-Islām ilayhā.* They were Berber clients whose family was related to the mother of their grandfather, the daughter of the king of al-Andalus before the arrival of Islam'. Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ adds this information to his entry on Ibn al-Qūṭīya, which he says came from Ibn al-Ḥārith [al-Khushanī], though it is not mentioned in the latter's *Quḍāt Qurṭuba* nor his Akhbār al-fuqahā' *wa'l-muḥaddithīn*. Fierro gives a much more detailed quotation, although her source, she says, is the Beirut 1968–1972 edition: hū wa [ʿĪsā ibn Muzāḥim] *min al-mawālī l-barbar yantasibu ilā umm jadd Abī-hi Ibrāhīm wa-hīya bnat walad malik al-Andalus qabla dukhūl al-Islām*
According to the editors of the *Akhbār al-fuqahā',* Madrid (1992), Avila and Molina *'barbar aparece referido a un personaje de origen persa':* see Fierro

(1989) 502, note 82 (private communication). But when we remember that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I of al-Andalus, was born in Syria to a Berber mother of the *Nafza* tribe, it is not out of the question that ʿĪsā ibn Muzāḥim was of Berber descent too.

68 Chrystis (2002) 181. The children of Sāra and Īsā ibn Muzāḥim were Muslims and became known as the *Banū'l-Qūṭīya*. Sāra's father and uncles did remain Christian for a some time. Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, a descendant of Sāra's uncle Rumulu, was a Christian and a contemporary of Ibn al-Qūṭīya. But their descendants were not the *Banū'l-Qūṭīya*. According to a recent work by the Malian scholar from Timbuktu, Ismael Diadié: one of the last surviving descendants of the Visigoths of Toledo, ʿAlī ibn Zīyād al-Qūṭī left that city in 1468 and made his way to Morocco, and settled in Gumbu in modern Mali. He brought with him manuscripts in Arabic, Spanish and Hebrew and collected more in the course of his life, leaving a substantial library to his heirs. This remarkable library was dispersed at the end of the nineteenth century, to prevent the French colonial authorities from getting their hands on it. It was reassembled by Diadié and installed in a new building in Timbuktu, funded by the Regional Government—*Junta*—of Andalucia, in 2003. Many of the books contain annotations by ʿAlī ibn Zīyād al-Qūṭī, stating when and where he acquired the manuscript. Thanks to these, Diadié has been able to reconstruct something of the life and travels of ʿel ultimo visigodo', who was presumably a descendant of Sāra's uncle Rumulu: Diadié and Pimentel (2004) 91–120. Al-Manūnī also mentions a 12th/18th-century Moroccan scribe from Fez, apparently of Visigothic descent: Aḥmad al-'Abbās ibn Mahdī al-Andalusī thumma al-Fāsī *al-Qūwayṭī*, 'the little Goth', who made a copy of al-Sijilmāsī's *Fatḥ al-khalīl al-ṣamad* 1794: al-Manūnī (1971) no. 296.

69 Ibn al-Abbar (1953) i, nos. 883, 892.

70 Abenalcotía/Ribera (1926) xxiv.

71 Chalmeta (1973) 40; Chrystis (2002) 165.

72 The *Taṣārīf al-af'āl* been edited (Ibn Al-Qutiyya, 1894).

73 According to Yāqūt he produced a commentary on the *Adab al-kātib.* But on which one—if this is correct—is unknown as there are five works with this name, written by authors who lived before the death of Ibn al-Qūṭīya Yāqūt (1993) vi, 2,593; Ibn-Akutya (1982), 17–18.

74 Al-Ḥumaydī (1953) no. 927. The author composed his work, the *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis* in Baghdad from inadequate material. He included another biography of Ibn al-Qūṭīya no. 111.

75 Ávila (1980); Chrystis (2002) 162.

76 Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (no date) iv, 554.

77 Yāqūt (1993) vi, 2593.

78 His name is given in various forms as al-Qūn, al-Qūq and al-Qūt. He was Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Qūq al-Khawlānī al-Bājī – of Beja according to al-Maqqarī (1968) ii, no.160.

79 Marín (1988): nos 1,231 and 1,258, 400, 535, 938, 616.

80 Marín (1988): nos 648, 805; no information for Ibn Mughīth; for Ibn Lubāba *History,* 78 note 6; then nos, 948, 248, 116, 1,330; for Ibn Ayman note 95 below; then nos, 853, 104, 1,046 and 1,048.

81 He may have been born around 277–282/890–895 as one of his declared informants, *Ibn alṬanjīya* died in 300/912 and one of his teachers in Cordova, Ṭāhir ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, died in 304/916. Ibn al-Faraḍī and his own nephew ʿAbd al-Malik, both of whom were his students, were fifteen years old when Ibn al-Qūṭīya died, probably in his late seventies, or early eighties. If Ibn al-Qūṭīya was roughly the same age in 304/916 he would have been born around 287/900. If however, he lived into his eighties he would have been born around 277/890.

82 Ibn al-Faraḍī (1954) ii, no. 1,318.

83 Fierro (1989) 495, note 43; Marīn (1988) no. 992.

84 Ibn Khallikān (1968–1972), iv, no. 750. *Fataka,* means to assassinate without warning; *fātik,* pl. *futtāk,* assassin. It is used in this sense in connection with the murder Aḥmad of ibn al-Barā' quoted above. But as the poet spoke on a lighter note it must mean, over-indulgent, voluptuary, see Dozy, *vivre voluptueusment, l'opposé de nasaka* (to be a hermit, ascetic). Chrystis suggests that the anecdote which sums up the personality of Ibn al-Qūṭīya may be a later interpolation, perhaps from a model chosen by Ibn Khallikān: Lane Bk. i, pt 6, 2,332–2333; Dozy ii, 240; Chrystis (2002) 163.

85 See also al-Maqqari (1968) iii, 73–74, 171; iv, 25, but no new information is given.

86 Chrystis (2002) 182.

87 Fierro (1989) 488 and note 14.

88 Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (no date) iv, 555.

89 Ibn Khallikān says that the work of Ibn al-ʿAfīf al-Ta'rīkhī on the famous men of al-Andalus was explained and written down *(basaṭahu wa namaqahu)* by Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad called *al-Qubbāshī,* who had *memorised his work:* Ibn Khallikān (1968–1972) iv, 371; Nichols (1975) xxiv.

90 Ibn Bashkuwāl (1955) i, nos 852, 769.

91 Lévi-Provençal i, 172.

92 When Ibn Ḥayyān quoted these events on the authority of Ibn al-Qūṭīya, he did not include the final expression, 'from then to our time', which could suggest that the Tujībids no longer controlled Saragossa when he wrote in the fifth/eleventh century. Unfortunately this is not so because he does use it when quoting Ibn al-Qūṭīya on the establishment of an *Andalusī* dynasty on Crete, long after it had disappeared: Ibn Ḥayyān (1999) 107 recto.

93 Fierro (1989) 495.

94 Marín (1988) no 181.

95 Molina (1989) 31–32.

96 Marín (1988) no. 1,265; al-Khushanī (1992) no. 175.

97 Marín (1988) no. 1,283; al-Khushanī (1992) nos. 34, 154, 210.

98 Fierro (1990) no. 60.

99 al-Khushanī (1952) 58.

100 al-Maqqari (1968) ii, no. 160.

101 Ibn Ḥayyān (1999) 121 recto, 123 verso, 124 verso, 126 verso.

102 Guichard (1976) 190, note. 32 quoting Lévi-Provençal ii, 12–13. So he was evidently not the nephew of Ibrāhīm ibn Hajjāj. The people of Seville chose him as ruler.

103 Marín (1988) no. 836.

104 Ibn Ḥayyān (1979) 70/43–81/53; Corriente and Viguera (1981) 63/43–72/53.

105 Ibn-Akutya (1982) 20, 32; Fierro (1989) 498–499.

106 MS 127; Makki (1998).

107 The Chronicle of Don Prudencio was published in Pamplona in 1634: Makki (1998): 210, note 5.

108 Makki (1998) 211.

109 There was also an *Urjūza fī fatḥ al-Andalus* by Yaḥya ibn al-Ḥakam al-Bakrī called *al-ghazāl* (d. 250/864) which has not survived: EI 2nd ii, 1,038.

110 Al-Maqqarī mentions another work by Ibn Ḥabīb the *Akhbār mulūk al-Andalus* but Ibn al-Qūṭīya—or perhaps a later interpolator—who saw the work, says that he refers to one dealing with the conquest of al-Andalus, not a history

of its rulers: al- Maqqarī (1968) ii, 118; also see Ibn-Akutya (1982) 23–26.

111 Ribera speculated whether Tammām had collected anecdotes about Sāra al Qūṭīya through his wife: see Guichard (1976) 191.

112 See *History,* 50, for his extract from al-Walīd's document to the three brothers. On page 60 he mentions that the family of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiqī who was governor of al-Andalus in 112–114/730–732, had his diploma of appointment in their possession in the mid-fourth/tenth century: Fierro (1989) 501–502; Chrystis (2002) 166.

113 See Fierro (1989) 500, note 73 for this complex and controversial issue.

114 Nichols (1975) xxxi–xliii.

115 Chrystis (2002) 172–179.

116 Chystis (2002) 174–176. The details of the treaty given to Theodomir exist in four separate accounts and the document is regarded as authentic: Marín (1985) 22–23.

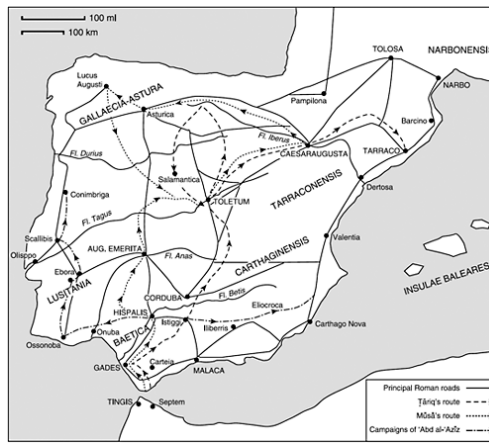
117 Monroe (1970) 7; Nichols (1975) x.

118 None of their works has survived, but some are extensively quoted in the *al-Muqtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān. See also Lévi-Provençal iii, 504; Pellat (1962) 118–125.

119 See also Nichols (1975) xliii–xlvi.

Translation

The *History* of Ibn al-Qūṭīya



The Peninsula in Visigothic times and the probable routes of Ṭāriq and Mūsa

1 Ṭāriq
ibn Zīyād invades al-Andalus[1]

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
God bless and save our lord Muḥammad and his Companions

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, known as Ibn al-Qūṭīya, 'the son of the Gothic woman' informed us.[2] Several learned men, including Shaykh Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Lubāba, Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad al-Murādī, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ayman and Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā' ibn al-Ṭanjīya al-Ishbīlī, have told us, according to all their masters:

* * *

The last king of the Goths in the land of al-Andalus was *Ghīṭīsha* ,-[Witiza]-who died leaving three sons. *Almund*—[Almund] was the eldest, *Rumulu*—[Aquila/Waqla/Rómulo] the next, then *Arṭabās* [Ardabast].[3] All were very young when their father died so their mother became regent in *Ṭulayṭula* [Toledo]. But *Lūdharīq*, [Roderik], their father's army commander, and his supporters in the army, rebelled and seized *Qurṭuba* [Cordova].[4]

* * *

When Ṭāriq ibn Zīyād entered al-Andalus, in the time of the caliph al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik [86–96/705–715], Lūdharīq wrote to the sons of Ghīṭīsha, who had grown up and could ride, calling on them to help him, so together they would be united against the enemy. They marshalled their forces, advanced and camped at *Shaqunda* [Secunda] as they did not trust Lūdharīq enough to enter Cordova.[5] He went to meet them and together they went to confront Ṭāriq. But when the two sides came close, Almund and his brothers decided to betray Lūdharīq. That very night they sent a messenger to Ṭāriq, saying that Lūdharīq was no better than one of their father's dogs, a mere client. They sought safe conduct if they came over to him the next morning, saying that he should confirm their possession of their father's estates, which numbered some three thousand in al-Andalus.

These were afterwards known as ‘the royal territories’ (*ṣafayā’l-mulūk*). Thus, the next morning they went over to Ṭāriq with their supporters, and that clinched the victory.[6]

* * *

When they met Ṭāriq they asked, ‘Are you the commander *(amīr)* in charge, or is there another commander over you?’ To which he replied, ‘There is a commander over me, and another one over him!’ He gave them leave to contact Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr…[in North Africa to confirm what he had agreed with them. They asked Ṭāriq to write to Mūsā about what had happened between them and him, and the promise he had given them: which Ṭāriq did.

They set off to meet Mūsā and met him on the way to al-Andalus][7] …near Berber territory, where they presented Ṭāriq’s letter announcing their submission and what he had authorised in return.[8] Mūsā directed them to the caliph al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik where al-Walīd confirmed Ṭāriq’s promise and gave each of them a document to that effect. The documents stipulated that: *they shall never have to rise to anyone who approaches them, nor to anyone who takes leave of them.*[9]

* * *

They returned to al-Andalus, and their situation remained as had been agreed until the death of Almund when his daughter, *Sāra* [Sarah] al-Qūṭīya, and his two young sons inherited his property. One was later Bishop of *Ishbīlīya* [Seville] and the other, ʿAbbās [Oppas], died in *Jillīqīya* [Galicia].[10] Then Arṭabās seized their lands and added them to his own. This occurred at the beginning of the rule of Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik as caliph [105–125/ 724–743]. So Sāra made ready a ship at Seville, where her father had preferred to live because he owned a thousand estates in the western part of al-Andalus. Arṭabās had an equal number in the middle of al-Andalus, and chose to live in Cordova, where Abū Saʿid al-Qawmis, is one of his descendants.[11] Rumulu owned his estates in the east so he preferred Toledo, where Ḥafṣ ibn Albar [*Alvar*—Alvaro], the Christian judge (*qāḍī al-ʿajam*), is among his descendants.[12] As we hope to relate soon, according to the learned, Arṭabās showed good judgement with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya and the Syrians who came with the Umayyads and Arabs to al-Andalus.

* * *

Sāra and her two young brothers sailed to Syria, where they landed at *Ashqalūn* [Ascalon]. They continued overland until they arrived at the seat of Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, where Sāra related her story, recalled the agreement given to her father by the caliph al-Walīd and complained of the injustice of her uncle Arṭabās Hishām had her brought into his presence. It was there that she saw with him the young ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya.[13] Years later in al-Andalus he would

remind her of that and whenever she visited Cordova he would give her leave to enter the palace and visit the royal family.[14] So, on her behalf Hishām wrote a letter to Ḥanẓala ibn Ṣafwān al-Kalbī, governor *(ʿāmil)* of the province of *Ifrīqīya,* instructing him to carry out the agreement of al-Walīd…and to order his governor in al-Andalus, Ḥusām ibn Ḍurār—that is Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Kalbī—to effect it.[15]

That being done, the caliph Hishām arranged a marriage for her with ʿĪsā ibn Muzāḥim who accompanied her to al-Anadalus where he recovered her properties. Now, he was the ancestor of the [*Banū*] *al-Qūṭīya*, and the father of two sons, Ibrāhīm and Isḥāq. He died in 136/755, the year ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya, [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I (138–172/756–788)], arrived in al-Andalus. Then two rivals competed for her hand: Ḥaywa ibn Malāmis al-Madhḥijī and ʿUmayr ibn Saʿīd al-Lakhmī [but Thaʿlaba ibn ʿUbayd al-Judhāmī supported ʿUmayr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān so he arranged a marriage for her with ʿUmayr.[16] She gave birth to Ḥabīb ibn ʿUmayr. ʿUmayr was the progenitor of several families of Seville: the *Banū Sayyid, Banū Ḥajjāj Banū Maslama, Banū* [*Ḥajz*] *al-Jurz.*[17] These are the noble descendants of ʿUmayr in Seville. He had children by other women, but the nobility of these families was not as illustrious. This information is found in the book of ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb, *Fatḥ al-Andalus* ['The Conquest of al-Andalus'], and in the *urjūza* [poem, in *rajz* metre], of Tammām ibn ʿAlqama al-Wazīr, and even more.[18]

* * *

The confrontation between Ṭāriq and Lūdharīq occurred at the W ādī Lakuh [Rio Guadalete] in the province of *Shadūna* [Sidona, Medina-Sidonia] and God defeated Lūdharīq.[19] Weighed down with weapons he threw himself in the river and was never found.[20]

* * *

It is related that the kings of the Goths had a temple *(bayt)* in Toledo wherein was an ark *(tābūt)* in which were kept the Four Gospels upon which they took the sacred oath. They exalted this temple and kept it closed. When one of their kings died they inscribed his name on it.[21] Now, when Lūdharīq became king he took the crown and placed it on his head, which was something not approved of according to Christianity. Then he opened the temple and the ark, although this was forbidden by Christianity. Inside the ark he found pictures of Arabs with bows on their shoulders and turbans on their heads.[22] On the wooden base was written: *If this temple be opened and these pictures taken out, then al-Andalus will be invaded by the people shown in the pictures and conquered by them!*

* * *

Ṭāriq entered al-Andalus in *Ramaḍān* 92/June 711.

* * *

The invasion happened because a merchant of the Christians *(ʿajam)*, called *Yulīyān* [Julian], used to travel between al-Andalus and the Land of the Berbers. At that time *Ṭanja* [Tangiers] … was Christian …[23] And there, in North Africa, he used to acquire fine horses and birds of prey for Lūdharīq. Now, the wife of Yulīyān died, leaving him with a beautiful daughter. Lūdharīq ordered him to go to North Africa but Yulīyān excused himself owing to the death of his wife, saying that he had no one to whom he could entrust his daughter. So Lūdharīq told him to bring her to the palace. When Lūdharīq saw her he took a fancy to her and seduced her. When her father returned, she told him. So he said to Lūdharīq, 'I have left behind in Africa, horses and hawks, the like of which you have never seen.' Then Lūdharīq let him return and gave him money. Yulīyān met with Ṭāriq and incited him to come over to al-Andalus, telling him of its splendour and the weakness of its people and their lack of courage. So Ṭāriq wrote to Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr and informed him of that, whereupon Mūsā told him to invade. Ṭāriq mustered [his troops].[24] While he was on board sleep overcame him and whilst asleep he had a dream in which he saw the Prophet—Muḥammad peace and praises be upon him. He was surrounded by his followers from Makka and Madina who were armed with swords and bows. The Prophet passed by Ṭāriq and said, 'Go on with your venture.' And Ṭāriq slept on, dreaming of the Prophet and his Companions, until the ship reached al-Andalus. He took the dream as a good omen and told it to his men.

* * *

When he reached the shore of al-Andalus one of the first places he took was *Qarṭājanna* [probably Carteya] in the province *(kūra)* of *al-Jazīra* [Algeciras].[25] He ordered his men to kill some prisoners and cut up their bodies, which he then had cooked in pots. He gave the order for the remaining prisoners to be released. The released prisoners told all they met what had happened.[26] Thus, God filled their hearts with terror. Ṭāriq advanced until he met Lūdharīq, and events turned out as we have previously related. He continued his advance to *Istija*, [Écija], and to Cordova; then on to Toledo; then on to the pass called *Fajj Ṭāriq* [Ṭāriq's Pass], by which he entered Galicia and he cut through Galicia until he reached *Usturqa*, [Astorga].[27]

* * *

Now, when Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr learned how easy the conquest had been he grew jealous of Ṭāriq because of that. He crossed over with a vast army … [intending to meet up with him]. When he arrived off the coast he ignored the place where Ṭāriq had landed and [disembarked] at the spot known later as Marsā *Mūsā* [Mūsā's Harbour]. He did not follow Ṭāriq's route but went along the coast of

Shadhūna. This took place a year after Ṭāriq had arrived.

He advanced to *Shadhūna*; then advanced on Seville, which he conquered.[28] He went on from Seville to *Laqant* [Fuente de Cantos]; then to the pass called *Fajj Mūsā* [Mūsā's Pass] before Fuente de Cantos to *Mārida* [Mérida].[29]

* * *

Some scholars *(ahl al-ʿilm)* say that the people of Mérida negotiated so Mūsā did not take over by force.[30] He advanced further and entered Galicia by the pass which bears his name. He cut through from where he had entered, and met up with Ṭāriq at Astorga.

* * *

At that moment came the order from the caliph al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik telling them to withdraw, which they did, after Mūsā and Ṭāriq had fallen out.

* * *

Mūsā reinforced the fortress of al-Andalus and left his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in charge, whom he established in Seville, leaving with him Ḥabīb ibn Abī ʿUbayda ibn ʿUqba ibn Nāfiʿ al-Fihrī.[31] Then ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz undertook the capture of the remaining towns of al-Andalus.

* * *

Then Mūsā set off for Syria, accompanied by four hundred Christian prisoners of noble birth wearing golden crowns and belts.[32] But as he grew near to Damascus the caliph al-Walīd went down with the illness from which he subsequently died. His successor-in-waiting, Sulaymān, told him, 'Halt where you are. Enter when my time comes: my brother is about to die.' But Mūsā answered the messenger with the sterness becoming a conquerer, and grateful for the favour done him by al-Walīd, 'Never, by God! I shall proceed: but if fate decrees that my benefactor die before I arrive, then I shall do as he [Sulaymān] wishes.' [But he entered before the death of al-Walīd.][33]

* * *

When Sulaymān [96–99/715–717] took control, he had Mūsā imprisoned, imposing a fine on him, while giving orders to five of the leading Arabs in al-Andalus to assassinate his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. These included Ḥabīb ibn Abī ʿUbayda and Zīyād ibn al-Nābigha al-Tamīmī. They went to carry it out…

One morning he [ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz] went to the mosque and stood in front of the *miḥrāb* where he recited the sura *al-Fātiḥa*, the opening chapter of the Qur'ān and the sura called *al-Wāqi'a* lvi ['The Event']. Then the people drew their swords and set about him all at once. They cut off his head and sent it to Sulaymān.This took place [in *Rajab* 97/ March 716] in the Mosque *of Rubīna*, over looking the plain of Seville, as ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was then living in the church of [Santa]

Rufina.[34] He had married a Visigothic woman called Umm ʿĀṣim and lived with her in the church close to the mosque, built nearby, in which he was murdered.[35] Until recently his blood stains could be seen there.[36]

* * *

After receiving the head Sulaymān sent for Mūsā and showed him it in a metal basin (*ṭisht*). Mūsā cried, 'By God! You killed him while he was fasting and praying!' Of the many things that happened during Sulaymān's reign, all that was remembered was what he did to Mūsā. His [Mūsā's] murder took place in the year 98/716–717.

Notes and comments

1 True headings *('anāwīn)* in the Paris manuscript are rare, and hardly differ from 'key words' in the format of the manuscript. But for clarity and readability I have divided the text in to easily identifiable sections: the Invasion; the years of the governors appointed by the caliphs of Damascus; the arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya and the reigns of his descendents etc. However original 'headings' if such they can be called—in the manuscript I have marked with an asterisk: **Concerning** Arṭabās* Otherwise, I have tried to keep the format of the text as close to the original as possible.

2 *Akhbaranā*: he informed us. The verb *akhbara*: to inform, here has to do with the relaying of akhbār. Dozy i, 347 gives *ṣāḥib al-khabar*, and akhbārī: some one who informs the sovereign of *toutes les nouvelles*; Lane, Bki, pt. 2, 695; 697 says *akhbara*, to inform, acquaint with; *akhbārī*, historian. This is different to the normal *incipit* of the vast majority of Arabic manuscripts, which commence: *qāla* followed by the name of the author *(qāla al-mu'allif)* or just *qāla.* The relayer or transmitter of the words of Ibn al-Qūṭīya was part of the circle (*ḥalqaħ*) of students and scholars who would have been seated around Ibn al-Qūṭīya listening and taking notes. Most scholars in the past have assumed that what we read in the existing text is a copy of an original *oral* relation taken down in Cordova, probably several times removed from that original relation. Only Sezgin (1967–1984), i, 364 says that it indicates a copy from a *written* transmission: Chalmeta (1973).

3 Simonet gives the names of the three sons as follows: Olemundo, Aquila/ Rómulo and Ardabasto: (1897–1903) 12, note 6. He believed the *r.m.l.h.* of the text to be a copyist's error for *ajila* or *achila,* Aquila. Al-Maqqarī gives the names as *Almundu, Rumulu* and *Arṭabāsh* It seems probable that Romulus, Rómulo/Rumulu is an Arab copyist's distortion of *Aquila/Aqīla/Waqla.* The Arabic letters *wāw* and *rā'* are easily confused and once the single dot above the *maghribī form* of the letter *qāf* was omitted, it would soon be mistaken for the letter *mim*, as neither non-Arab name would necessarily be familiar to a copyist, and *w.q.l.h.* could easily become *r.m.l.h.* after one or two copyings. There is little information on the 'three sons' of Witiza; if sons they were. Arṭabās may have been Ardo, the last Visigothc ruler of Septimania (713–720 CE). Aquila/Aguila/Achila may be the ruler who controlled part of the north-east of the peninsula (c. 711–714 CE): Collins (2004) 138–139.

4 The peninsula was divided into five provinces under the Visigoths; from west to east: Gallaecia-Astura, Lusitana; Carthaginensis, Baetica; Tarraconensis: Menéndez Pidal (2001) iii, map, 110.

5 EI 2nd ix, 255. A small town near Cordova on the left bank of the

Gualdalquivir.

6 The exact location of the battle is unknown.

7 This passage is not in the Paris manuscript, but appears in Abenalcotia/Ribera (1926). Gaps where 'significant words' have been left out are indicated thus:… .

8 The origin of the Arabic name for the Iberian Peninsula has been the subject of much debate, and will probably never be resolved. It was initially supposed to be derived from the name of the Germanic Vandal tribes who occupied the southern part of the peninsula for twenty years in the fifth century before being forced out to North Africa by the Visigoths. One of the more recent attempts to explain the name makes out a well-argued case for *al-Andalus* being a distortion of the Gothic term *landahlauts*: land lot, inherited residence: Halm (1998) 49. But equally stongly, Vallvé argues for its origin to lie in the name for Plato's Lost Continent, *Atlantis*: Vallvé (1983); a suggestion debunked by Halm (1998) 43.

9. Although Ibn al-Qūṭīya does not give the complete text of the document *(sijill)* given to the sons of Witiza, he does included this important proviso or concession, which implies that he had some information about its contents, though this could have been imagined or invented. Nevertheless, the author's reference to the *sijill* of the ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiqī family indicates that such documents sometimes (1989) 501. Who stood up for whom was always an important part of mediaeval remained in the possession of descendants for many years: *History*, 60; Fierro protocol. In the account of Arṭabās's meeting with the Syrian chiefs, the text, page 76, appears to indicate that when the Syrians arrived Arṭabās was seated on a chair and bade the Syrians sit on chairs around him. But when Maymūn 'the Saintly' enters a little later,—Arṭabās a shrewd politician—makes a point of standing to receive him.

10 Simonet (1897–1903) 11, Oppas or Oppa: *oncle et l'évêque de Witiza*, and *mètropolitan de Seville, un frère ou fils de Witiza, fuir la capitale et se réfuger en Galice,* according to Lévi-Provençal i, 7, 66.

11 Dozy ii, 428 gives *qawmas, comte*; but *qawmis* is the more common transliteration of the Arabic. Christians in al-Andalus were organised in communities headed by an official, *qawmis,* Latin *comes,* who was also a Christian: Lévi-Provençal iii, 218–219. The first qawmis according to Ibn al-Qūṭīya was Arṭabās who was appointed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I: History, 76.

12 Each Christian community had a judge. The judge mentioned here is known to history from a unique source. He was Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī, the author of an Arabic translation from Latin of the Psalter with a verse introduction *(urjūza)*, once located in the Escorial Library. A copy of this work survives in the Ambrosian Library (Hammer-Purgstall (1839), no. 86). The original is dated 989 CE—no *Hijrī date* is given—indicating that the author was the contemporary of Ibn al-Qūṭīya referred to in the History. Dunlop (1954) 149, offers the speculation that the ʿAlbar' ancestor mentioned could have been Álvaro of Cordova, the leader of the Mozarab community who died in 861 CE.

If so he would have been the grandfather of Hafṣ, with Ibn Albar being a patronymic like *Ibn al-Qūṭīya*.. Like Ḥafṣ al- Qūṭī,, Álvaro of Cordova was also descended from Rumulu (Aquila/ Rómulo). See also Hafs le Goth/Urvoy (1994).

13 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya was born in 113/731, the son of Muʿāwīya ibn Hishām. He escaped the massacre of the Umayyads at the hands of the ʿAbbāsids and fled to Palestine, Egypt *Ifrīqīya* and finally Tāhart, Tiaret, where he took refuge with his mother's relatives among the *Nafza* tribe of Berbers: EI 2nd i, 81–82.

14 *Al-qaṣr* Spanish alcázar, the palace. The first palace of the Umayyads in Cordova was the *dār al- 'imāra.* This was the former palace of the Visigothic governors of Baetica, where the court/administrative services were also housed. It was replaced by the *Bāb al-sudda* palace complex (see note?) which stood where the Episcopal Palace stands today. The *Alcázar de los Reyes Católicos* stands on the site of the former Visigothic palace. Some decorative fragments from the Visigothic building survive in the *Museo Arqueológico* of Cordova: Cruz Hernández (1998) 74–75.

15 The exact boundaries of the Muslim province of *Ifrīqīya* remain unclear but it was centered on modern Tunisia, eastern Algeria and western Libya. According to Saḥnūn ibn Saʿīd (d. 240/854–855) it stretched from Tripoli to Tubnaḥ'. It consisted of the former Roman provinces of *Africa Proconsularis* and *Byzacena* and parts of *Numidia Cirtensis, Numidia Militana, Mauritania Sitifensis* and *Tripolitania*: EI 2nd iii, 1,047–1,050; Talbot (1985) 176–177.

16 Thaʿlaba ibn ʿUbayd al-Judhāmī enjoyed some influence with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. It was he who later denounced Abū'l-Ṣabbāḥ al-Yaḥṣubī, to the emir, when the latter —allegedly—suggested a coup against him: History, 72 Ḥaywa ibn Malāmis was an important figure in the contingent *(jund)* of troops from Homs. He later took part in the revolt of 154–156/771–773 by the contingents of Homs and Egypt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmāndefeated the rebels at Bembezár and Ḥaywa was killed: Anon/ Lafuente y Alcántara (1867) 91; Manzano Moreno (1998) 98, note 35.

17 *Ḥajz* is not given in the Paris manuscript: Fierro (1990) nos 1–5, note 4.

18 ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb together with ʿĪsā ibn Dīnār and Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā, was responsible for establishing the Mālikite rite of Islamic law in al-Andalus: Lévi-Provençal iii, 475. But it did not become the official rite/doctrine of al-Andalus until the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III Fierro (1989) 24. For the Ta'rīkh of Ibn Ḥabīb see *Intro*. 36–37. Tammām (188–272/3/803–886) was the descendant of the person with same name who aided ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya: *History,* 69. The *urjūza* is mentioned as a separate work. In the Paris manuscript, folio 4 recto, between the reference to the *Faṭh al-Andalus* and the urjūza of Tammām there is the word *wā* (and). Although the *urjūza* does not survive there is a description of it in the *al-Ḥulla al-siyarā'* Ibn al-Abbār: Fierro (1989) 498–499.

19 The exact site of the battle is unknown, and the river mentioned here has been identified with both the Rio Guadalete and the Rio Barbate. According to Lévi-Provençal, the word *lakuh* is no more than a transcription of the Spanish word *lago,* lake, probably the Laguna de la Janda, east of Vejer de la Frontera, where the battle is thought to have been fought: Lévi-Provençal i, 21, notes 1, 2. For an alternative itinerary see Vallvé (1989).

20 *Ṣilāḥ*, weapon or weapons: Lane, Bk i, pt. ii, 427; but it could be assumed here to mean armour, mail.

21 According to [Psuedo-] Ibn Qutayba's *Faṭh al-Andalus* the temple *(bayt)* was closed with twenty-four locks, each one given by a king of the Visigoths. Roderik/ Lūdharīq insisted on opening the temple, instead of adding another lock. Inside was the altar *(mā'ida)* of Sulaymān (King Solomon) and the picture mentioned by Ibn al-Qūṭīya This altar was reputedly found by Ṭāriq and his removal of one of the legs was supposedly the source of the quarrel between the two commanders, though Ibn al Qūṭīya makes no mention of this. In reality the treasury of the Visigothic monarchs was removed before the arrival of the Muslim armies and hidden. In 1858 part of the cache was discovered by a Spanish couple taking shelter on a stormy night near the Monastery of María de Sobraces at Guarrazar near Toledo. Some of the find was broken up and disappeared, part was recovered and some turned up later in France. The latter was returned to Spain after negotiations between the Franco and Vichy regimes during World War II, and is today in the *Museo Arqueológico*, Madrid, forming part of the largest known group of Visigothic jewellery. There were other discoveries around the same time. Among the objects unearthed were several votive crowns, all of which had the name of the monarch in letters suspended from their bases. Perhaps there is a distant memory of this in Ibn al-Qūṭīya's mention of each king's name being inscribed on the Toledan 'temple' after his death. This is presumably what Ibn al-Kardabūs refers to when he says there were 25 crowns in the cathedral of Toledo decorated with pearl and precious stones, and each bearing the name of its former owner: [Psuedo-] Ibn Qutayba (1957) 144–145; Ibn al-Kardabūs (1986) 64.

22 This source of this legend is to be found among the early Egyptian accounts of the Conquest of the peninsula. Nevertheless, during the 4th/10th century, when the text of the *History* was both related and transmitted in its written form, there was an abundance of figurative decoration on everyday objects: pottery, caskets made of wood and ivory, textiles, etc. in Cordova and elsewhere in al-Andalus. There were also manuscripts, scientific and literary with paintings, though none has survived. The earliest illustrated *Andalusī/Maghribī* manuscript dates from the seventh/thirteenth century (Ceuta 621/1224). Christian churches in Cordova probably had painted frescoes which may have included Biblical scenes: Ettinghausen (1962) 130; Torres Balbas (1982 (iv)).

23 The status of Tangiers in 711 CE is unknown, but it appears to have been in Byzantine hands until 705–710 CE. The town—the Ancient *Tinigis*—was subject to the Byzantine *exarch of Septem, Sabta*, Ceuta, which was in Byzantine hands in 687 CE and may still have been so until 705–710 CE. 'Julian the Merchant', *Yulyān*, may have been the exarch: some have

suggested that Ṭāriq used Julian the Merchant's ships to invade the peninsula: EI 2nd i, 493; x, 184. This is dismissed however, together with almost all the accounts of outraged fathers, defiled maidens, youthful treachery, etc. surrounding the conquest of 92–94/711–712, by Collins in his analysis of the Muslim invasion. According to the same author it is probable that the Muslim invaders were accompanied by their own sea transport, since by then Muslims had already attacked and invaded several Mediterranean islands: Collins (2004), 129, 138–139.

24 In al-Abyārī's edition he makes the first reference to the use of the expression *alkh*, 'etc.' at this point, which he refers to at nine more points. But the expression is the Paris manuscript on folio 5 recto is *hā'*, 'finished', and is located a few lines earlier: Ibn-Akutya (1982), 34, line 10.

25 Carteya, Ancient *Carteia*, in the Bay of Gibraltar, west of Gibraltar. The text says *Qarṭājana*, Cartagena, in Murcia, but most scholars regard this as a an error. See Vallvé (1967) for an alternative opinion.

26 This account can be traced to Egyptian sources on the conquest and almost certainly did not happen in reality. For Egyptian accounts of the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, see Makki (1998) 173–233, especially 174–176.

27 This has been identified with the Puerto de Somosierra, but its precise location remains unclear: Hernández Giménez (1962) 267–297. See Santiago Simon (1998) for a discussion of the possible routes taken by Ṭāriq and Mūsā, based on information given in all known sources. According to Santiago Simón's reading of these, Ṭāriq's route was *Wādī Lakuh*—Medina-Sidonia —Morón—Carmona Seville—Écija—Cordova—Toledo. Mūsā's route led him through Algeciras—Niebla—Beja—Mérida—the Viso Pass—Toledo. The two commanders met—supposedly—at the village Almaraz near Toledo.

28 Seville became the capital of al-Andalus, until ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥurr al-Thaqafī (governed 97–100/716–719) moved the capital to the then insignificant town of Cordova.

29 For the situation of the Christians of al-Andalus immediately following the conquest and subsequent centuries, see de Epalza (1998). *Laqant* may—or may not—be Fuente de Cantos, north west of Seville: Dozy (1881) ii, 260, note 3; Anon/ Lafuente y Alcántara (1867) 253.

30 For a discussion of the different types of pacts and capitulation terms between the invaders and the native inhabitants, see Viguera y Mol íns (1 998) 3 7.

31 A descendant of the famous Conqueror of North Africa, ʿUqba ibn Nāfiʿ al-Fihrī (d. 63/683). He was one of the assassins of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Mūsā: *History*, 53. His grandson was one of the best known governors of al-Andalus, Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥabīb al-Fihrī (129–138/746–756): Fierro (1990) no. 47.

32 This colourful but improbable procession can be traced to Egyptian sources of the Conquest.

33 This sentence is added in the margin of the Paris manuscript, apparently by the scribe. The script is the same as that of the other additions and, like those, it has the expression *ṣaḥḥ* 'correct' next to it.

34 ʿAbd al-'Azīz established himself in Seville in a church dedicated by the sister of S Isidore (c. 560–636 CE) to the martyrs SS Rufina and Justa, later amalgamated with the convent of La Trinidad: Calvert (1907) 6.

35 Egilona was the name of the widow of Roderik according to Spanish sources; according to Arab sources her name was *Aylū*: Simonet (1897–1903) 145; Lévi-Provençal i, 33.

36 Marble stains easily and the stains are difficult to remove, so there may have been some truth in this statement. More likely, it was a colourful legend. A similar story concocted for tourists is associated with the Alhambra of Granada where stains on the marble floor of the *Hall of the Abencerrages*, off the *Court of the Lions* are said to be those of the thirty murdered members of the *Banū Sarrāj*, killed, some say, by Muḥammad X. In fact there is no truth in the story: EI 2nd xii, 399; Irwin (2005), 79–80.

2
Al-Andalus under the Governors of the Damascus Caliphate (92–136/711–756)

For several years the people could not agree upon a governor [for al-Andalus] until the Berbers there appointed Ayyūb ibn Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī [97/716] to rule them. Ḥabīb was the nephew of Mūsā on his sister's side. This Ayyūb has descendants near *Binna*, Peña in the province of *Rayya*, [Málaga].[1]

* * *

Then, Sulaymān appointed as governor *(wālī) of Ifrīqīya* ʿAbdallāh ibn Yazīd, a client of the Arab tribe of Qays, after his anger against Mūsā and his dismissal of him as governor *of Ifrīqīya* and North Africa.[2] In turn ʿAbdallāh appointed al-Ḥurr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī [97–100/716–719] governor *(wālī)* of al-Andalus; for in those days al-Andalus had no separate governor, but one chosen by the governor of *Ifrīqīya*.

But al-Ḥurr had not been appointed long before ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—God have mercy upon him—became caliph [99–101/717–720], and appointed al-Samḥ ibn Mālik al-Khawlānī [100–102/719–721] governor of al-Andalus. Over *Ifrīqīya* he appointed Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbdallāh, a client of the *Banū Makhzūm*.[3]

* * *

ʿUmar charged al-Samḥ with evacuating the Muslims who had settled in alAndalus because he feared for their safety should they be overrun by the enemy. However, al-Samḥ wrote and reassured him of the strength of the Muslims of al-Andalus, the many towns they occupied and the prominence of their fortresses. Then ʿUmar sent his client Jābir[4] to collect the caliphal dues, which amounted to one-fifth of the revenue.[5] Jābir took up residence in Cordova [near…the] graveyard and prayer hall in the *Arrabal* suburb.[6] But he received news of ʿUmar's death and stopped collecting the money and built the bridge over the river at Cordova, opposite the garden.[7]

* * *

When Yazīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik became caliph [101–105/720–724], he appointed Bishr ibn Ṣafwān governor of *Ifrīqīya,* and Bishr in turn appointed ʿAnbasa ibn Suḥaym al-Kalbī [102–107/721–726] governor of al-Andalus. After him came: Yaḥyā ibn Salāma al-Kalbī [107–119/726–728], ʿUthmān ibn Abī Niʿsa al-Khathʿamī [110–111/728–29], Ḥudhayfa ibn al-Aḥwaṣ al-Qaysī [110/728], al-Haytham ibn ʿAbd al-Kāfī [111/729–730],ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Ghāfiqī [112–114/730–732], and ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Qaṭn al-Fihrī [114–116/732–734].[8] However,ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbdallāh claimed that his ancestor, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [al-Ghāfiqī] was not appointed by the governor *of Ifrīqīya*, but by the caliph Yazīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik [101–105/ 720–724], and that his family have the royal decree of appointment.[9] Their residence is at *Marīyānat al-Ghāfiqīn* [Mairena in the Aljarafe *(al-Sharaf)* de Sevilla].[10]

* * *

Then…Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik became caliph [105–125/724–734] and appointed ʿUbaydallāh ibn al-Ḥabḥāb a client of the tribe of Salūl ibn Qays, governor of Ifrīqīya. He, in turn, appointed ʿUqba ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Salūlī [116–123/734–741] governor of al-Andalus. That was in the year 110/ 728–729.[11] He had hardly been appointed when the Berber revolt in Tangiers broke out against ʿUbaydallāh [in 122/740].[12] They were joined by Maysara, called The Ruffian', a water-seller in the market of *Qayrawān* [Quairouan]. He and his supporters killed the governor, ʿUmar ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Murādī. When the news of the revolt in Tangiers reached al-Andalus, a revolt broke out there against ʿUqba, and he was overthrown. The instigater of the revolt was the former governor, ʿAbd al-Malik al-Fihrī, who again took over [to 123/ 741]. He did not repudiate allegiance to the caliph and al-Andalus submitted to him.

Then the caliph Hishām removed [ʿUbaydallāh ibn] al-Ḥabḥāb from *Ifrīqīya* and the hinterland of North Africa and appointed Kulthūm ibn ʿIyāḍ al-Qaysī and ordered him to go and put down the Berbers. His successor should he be killed—was to be his nephew Balj ibn Bishr al-Qushayrī. Should Balj be killed his place would be taken by Thaʿlaba ibn Salāma al-ʿĀmilī.

* * *

So Kulthūm set off for *Ifrīqīya* with 30,000 men. There were 10,000… [clients] of the Umayyads and 20,000 men from other Arab tribes….

* * *

They had heard rumours of the collapse of their [Umayyad] rule and the takeover by the ʿAbbāsids [132/750]. But they heard that the writ of the latter would not extend beyond the river Zāb. They assumed

this meant the Zāb of Egypt, but it was the Zāb of *Ifrīqīya*.[13] ʿAbbāsid power never went beyond *Ṭubna* in North Africa.[14] Kulthūm had been ordered to bring North Africa to heel and he did so to the best of his ability. But the Berbers again revolted and joined forces with Ḥumayd al-Zanātī and Maysara the Ruffian, afore mentioned. The two sides met at a place called *Nafdūra* and a great battle ensued in which Kulthūm and 10,000 men perished, while another 10,000— including a contingent of Syrians—fled to *Ifrīqīya* where they remained until the time of Yazīd ibn Khātim al-Muhlab, governor of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr [136–158/754–755]. He got them to give their allegiance and added to them the Arab contingent of Khurasan which had come with him. To this day they are there.

Now, Balj and 10,000 men found themselves cut off, so they made for Tangiers, called 'The Fertile'. There were 2,000 clients and 8,000 Arab tribesmen. Then the Arabs [Berbers] began to besiege him and fight with him.[15] So Balj contacted ʿAbd al-Malik al-Fihrī and told him what had happened to his uncle, Kulthūm and begged him to send ships by which he could cross over. ʿAbd al-Malik asked the opinion of his advisors. They said to him, 'If this Syrian comes to you, he will get rid of you!' So, he did not answer.

When Balj despaired of hearing from him, he built rafts and seized some ships, together with whatever weapons and equipment they contained, and set off. By this means they arrived in al-Andalus.[16]

* * *

When ʿAbd al-Malik al Fihrī learned of his arrival in al-Andalus he mobilised his troops and found Balj near to Algeciras. A great battle ensued in which ʿAbd al-Malik was defeated. ʿAbd al-Malik resumed the attack, but Balj chased him all the way to Cordova and defeated him 18 times, finally capturing him in the last skirmish. He had him crucified at the head of the bridge where the Great Mosque is located. Then he entered Cordova.

* * *

At that time Arbūna [Narbonne] was governed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAlqama al-Lakhmī in the name of ʿAbd al-Malik.[17] When he heard what had happened to ʿAbd al-Malik he resolved to take revenge. He gathered his troops at the frontier, and he was supported by many Arabs and Berbers in al-Andalus. He advanced, seeking revenge for the blood of ʿAbd al-Malik, while Balj left Cordova with 10,000 Umayyads and Syrians to confront ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and his 40,000. A battle ensued at a village called… *Aqwaẖ Burṭūraẖ* [Agua Portora], in the province of *Walba* [Huelva].[18] By evening ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had lost 10,000 men and Balj 1,000.[19]

* * *

Then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān cried, 'Point out their Balj!' He was an expert

shot with the bow. He was pointed out to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. So he fired into the air and the arrow went through the sleeve of Balj's chain mail into his body and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān cried, 'I have hit their Balj!' Fighting ceased but Balj died the next day [124/742].

Thaʿlaba al-ʿĀmilī assumed control of Cordova and the Syrian and Umayyad troops while ʿAbd al-Raḥmān retired to the frontier.

The Arabs and Berbers of al-Andalus continued the struggle against the newcomers, seeking vengeance for the death of ʿAbd al-Malik al-Fihrī. To the Syrians they said, 'Our country is too small—even for us: so get out!'[20] Fighting continued in the barren hills south of Cordova.

* * *

Now, when the caliph Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik learned of the disaster which had befallen Kulthūm and the chaos into which North Africa and al-Andalus had been plunged, he sought the advice of his brother al-'Abbās ibn al-Walīd, who had replaced his brother Maslama as adviser thereafter. He replied, 'Commander of the Faithful, the only suitable end is what was suitable at its commencement. Turn away and reconsider the Qaḥṭānids So he accepted that advice. It coincided with the arrival of some verses sent from North Africa to the caliph by Abū'l-Khaṭṭār [al-Ḥusayn ibn Ḍirār] al-Kalbī:

> You made, O *Banū Marwān*, our blood return to Qays.
> If you do not act justly, in God there is an Equitable Judge.
> As if you had not witnessed Marj Rāhiṭ,
> or did not know who had obtained the victory.
> We preserved you in the heat of battle with our breasts,
> when you had neither horses which could run, nor men.
> When you saw that the blaze of battle was extinguished;
> and when food and drink were more agreeable to you, than was,
> you ignored us, as if we had no strife,
> and you, as far as I know, did nothing.
> Do not be worried if war bites once again,
> and the sandaled foot slips on the stair,
> and if the bond of union and strength wears out:
> for may not the cord [twist] and maybe break?

* * *

After the caliph had received these verses he appointed Ḥanẓala ibn Ṣafwān al-Kalbī governor of Ifrīqīya and told him to make his cousin Abū'l-Khaṭṭār [al-Kalbī] governor of al-Andalus [125–127/743–745] and set off, taking with him the decree of his appointment by Ḥanẓala together with 30 men. This was the second arrival of the

Syrians. His banner *(liwāʾ)* was on a spear in a leather case.[21] When he got to *Wādī Shūsh* [Rio Guadajoz], he refreshed himself and attached the spearhead with the banner to a shaft, advancing though the Pass of *al- Māʾida* to where fighting raged between the Umayads and Syrians on one side and the Berbers and earlier Arab settlers on the other.[22] Both sides saw the banner, stopped fighting and hastened to approach him. Abū'l- Khaṭṭār said, 'Will you listen and obey?' To which they all replied, 'We shall!' He continued, This is my decree of appointment over you, given by my cousin Ḥanẓala on the authority of the Commander of the Faithful.' The Berbers and settlers said, 'We swear allegiance, but there is no room here for these Syrians—get rid of them!' He said, 'Come to Cordova and rest awhile. Your demands will be met. I have an idea which benefit you all, God willing.'

They entered Cordova and he put Thaʿlaba ibn Salāmaẖ al-ʿĀmilī, Al-Waqqās ibn ʿAbd al- ʿAzīz al-Kināni and ʿUthmān Abū Nisʿa al-Khathʿamī in the charge of those who would escort them out of al-Andalus. He said to them, 'It is clear to the Commander of the Faithful, and to his governor Ḥanẓala that you are the cause of the chaos in al-Andalus.' So they left and went back to Tangiers.

Then he considered in which provinces to settle the Syrians, dispersing them from Cordova. He sent the Arabs of Damascus to *Ilbīra* [Elvira]; those of Jordan to Málaga; those of Palestine to *Shadhūna*; those of Homs to Seville; those of Qinnisrīn to *Jayyān* [Jaén]; those of Egypt to *Bājaẖ* [Beja] and *Tudmīr* [Murcia].[23] The costs of this settlement were borne by the non-Muslim subjects.[24] The Arab settlers and Berbers, on the other hand retained their gains and did not have to give anything up.

Notes and comments

1 Founder of the *Banū Ayyūb*, Fierro (1990) no. 6; 43. *Rayya*, or *Rayyu*, was roughly the area of modern Province of Málaga. The name is derived from the Latin *Regio*, i.e. *Malacitana regio*: EI 2nd viii, 473–474.

2 In the early years of Islam, converts had to affiliate themselves with an Arab tribe as *mawālī*, singular *mawlā*, translated as 'clients'. These clients were loyal to their adopted tribes who undertook to protect them, though clients were not considered to be Arabs. Ibn al-Qūṭīya was descended from a client of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (99–101/717–720).

3 The *Banū Makhzūm* became an important Arab family group in al-Andalus: Fierro (1990) no. 35.

4 According to Fierro (1990) 62, note 89, the descendants of Jābir are those mentioned by Molina (1989) 36–37.

5 *Khums*: a fifth part of the share of any booty, to which the state was legally entitled.

6 *Arrabal* is the Spanish form of the Arabic *al-rabaḍ* (district or quarter of a town). This referred to the part of Cordova that lay south of the Guadalquivir: Lévi-Provençal i, fig. 11.

7 It was al-Samḥ ibn Mālik (governed 100–102/719–721) who actually restored the bridge over the Guadalquivir, which was in ruins after having been damaged in an earlier flood. This was the only access to Cordova on the southern side until the beginning of the twenty-first century. Al-Samḥ also restored the city wall on the west side of Cordova which needed repair. These were the only recorded public works in al-Andalus before the arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya. The words I translate here as 'opposite the garden' have been read variously: *as fī-mā yuqābil al-khazzāz* (Ibn Elqouthiya/ Houdas (1889) 265); and as *khazzān or kharāb* by all other editors. By the word *khazzān* from *khazana* to store, lay up, verbal forms II, VIII 'to dam', we can understand 'a pool' or 'cistern' where water was collected, while *kharāb* means 'ruins'. But it may be a textual corruption *for fī-mā yuqābil al-jinān*, 'opposite the gardens' (of the palace), since in the southern wall of the palace was a gate called the *Bāb al-jinān*, the 'Garden Gate'. In 2003 the bridge underwent a massive programme of restoration and repair, removing later additions and trying to return the structure to something like its original state. The same project, undertaken by the *Junta de Andalucía* (Regional Government of Andalucia), included the restoration of the area around the

Puerta del Puente between the Mezqita/Cathedral and the bridge and the *Torre de la Calahorra* at the southern end of the bridge. The Umayyad *Bab al-qanṭara* 'Bridge Gate' was replaced by the Renaissance *Puerta del Puente*, built by Hernán Ruiz (d. 1547), who also changed the minaret of the Great Mosque into a bell-tower. The project, begun in 2003, also included the rebuilding of the southern wall of Cordova: Nichols (1975) 29; Cresswell (1979) ii, 138; EI 2nd v, 509–512; Action Plan 2003–2008 (no date).

8 Ḥudhayfa ruled for a while in 110/728, before rather than after ʿUthmān; EI 2nd i, 493.

9. The Banū *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Ghāfiqī* Fierro (1990) no. 7.

10 According to Lévi-Provençal iii, 205, note 1: but nobody else seems to agree. Al[al-Qūṭīya] gives M.r.nāna, Ibn Ṭabbāʿ (1957) 40; al-Abyārī offers Mursāna IbnAkutya (1982) 39, 90 note 3; Fierro offers various readings from several sources *M.rnānat, M.r.n.yanat*: Fierro (1990) no. 7, note 7.

11 This is an error, but understandable because al-Andalus had three different governors in that year.

12 EI 2nd i, 1, 173–1, 187

13 The Zab referred to here is not a river but a very fertile, well-watered area—pl. *zībān*—in the Algerian Sahara. The rivers called the Greater and Lesser Zab are tributaries on the left bank of the Tigris. It was on the Greater Zab that the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II, was defeated by the ʿAbbāsids: EI 2nd xi, 364–366.

14 The ancient *Thubunae*, now in modern north-eastern Algeria near Barika, EI 2nd x, 580; Ibn El-Kouthyia/Cherbonneau (1853) 480, note 13.

15 An error. It must have been the Berbers who besieged them. The number of men who landed in al-Andalus and came with Balj is later given as 10,000 so it must have included the 8,000 Arabs who came with him to North Africa.

16 Balj came to al-Andalus with the support of Yūsuf, in returning for helping to put down the Berber revolt. An embarkation of 10,000 men plus several thousand horses (cavalry would normally have at least two mounts per man) and probably camp-followers was a huge undertaking and it could only have been done in an organised manner with proper transport over several days: Lévi-Provençal i, *44–41.* But once again, we must bear in mind that the figures may not be correct, and that the actual number of men was, in fact, much lower.

17 Narbonne was captured by the Muslims under al-Samḥ al-Khawlānī in 102/721 and remained under their control until 142/759: Sherwānī (1955) 39–41, 98–99.

18 Agua Portora was probably on the road to Cordova in the neighbourhood of

Agua Dulce according to Lafuente y Alc ántara. Lé vi-Provençal s ays it was somewhat north of Cordova. The text says *min iqlīm Walba*, 'the region of Huelva', but this is wrong if Aqua Portora was near Cordova. Ribera reads *Wād ba* Huebo, Anon/Lafuente y Alc ántara (1 867) 2 43; Abenalcotía/Ribera (1926) 12; Levi-Provençal i, 4.

19 The numbers of troops and casualties given in accounts of this type were always exaggerated by the winning side and their partisans.

20 The first group of Arabs to arrive in the peninsula were given the name *baladīyūn*, 'natives', while the Syrians who arrived with Balj were known as *shāmīyūn*, Syrians: Lévi-Provençal i, 83, note 2.

21 *'Ayba*: a leather bag.

22 There are numerous illustrations of flags and banners, carried by Muslim troops in the—admittedly much later—thirteenth-century Galician manuscript *Las Cantigas de Santa María* in the Escorial Library But it would appear, from this description, that Abū'l-Khaṭṭār's banner was not a flag, but a pennant (*'uqda*) or streamer, such as we see depicted in the illustrations of the seventh/ thirteenth century *Maqāmāt al-Harīrī in* the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The Pass of *al-Mā'ida* is probably the Questa de Visos, south of Cordova: Ettinghausen (1962) 118; Martin (2002) 66–67.

23 For the settlement of these contingents, see Manzano Moreno (1998).

24 *Ahl al-dhimma min al-'ajam*, the non-Muslim population. Christians and Jews were allowed under Islam to practise their faith and enjoy a protected status in return for paying a tax.

The Emirate of Cordova and its provinces

3

The Arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya and his Reign as Emir (138–172/756–778)[1]

During his rule as governor, Abū'l-Khaṭṭār showed his prejudice against the North Arabian tribes of Muḍar, so they conspired against him and advanced on Cordova. He was unprepared but gathered his men and went out to confront them at Secunda.

* * *

The Muḍar tribes were led by al-Ṣumayl ibn Ḥātim al-Kilābī. Abū'l-Khaṭṭār was defeated and fled, seeking refuge in a mill at a place called *Munyat Nasr*.[2] He was dragged out from under the millstone and brought to al-Ṣumayl who immediately cut off his head.

* * *

Then the rebels chose Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥabīb ibn Abī ʿUbayda ibn ʿUqba ibn Nāfiʿ al-Fihrī and appointed him as governor [129–138/ 746–756].[3] His rule lasted several years during which al-Ṣumayl was his minister *(wazīr)* and dominated matters. He was prejudiced against the South Arabian Qaḥṭān tribes which greatly gladdened the hearts of his followers.

The arrival [in 136/754] of Badr, a client of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya may God be merciful to him—came as a complete surprise to the Qaḥṭānids[4]

* * *

Badr came with a message from his master who was in hiding with the *Banū Wānsūs* in North Africa, who were clients of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwān.[5] They approached Abū ʿUthmān, who was the leader of the Umayyd clients at that time, and sought his advice at the village of *Ṭurrush* [Torrox] where he lived.[6] Abū ʿUthmān sent for his son-in-law ʿAbdallāh ibn Khālid and talked to him about Badr's message.[7] Now, at that time Yūsuf al-Fihrī was about to launch an attack against the Christians of the North. The two said to Badr, 'Wait until this campaign is over. While it is going on we shall meet our

companions. Yūsuf has called the clients of the Umayyads ‘our clients’, and favoured them.’ The two of them took part in the campaign.

* * *

They met together with Abū'l-Ṣabbāḥ al-Yaḥṣubī, who was the leader of the South Arabian Yemenite tribes in the western part of al-Andalus and lived in the village of *Mūra* [Mora] in the Aljarafe de Sevilla.[8] They met other Arab leaders too, some of whom opposed the idea of supporting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān while others were in favour, until the campaign came to an end and they dispersed.

Then they told Abū ʿAbda Ḥassān ibn Mālik to approach Abū'l-Ṣabbāḥ, who lived with him in Seville, and recall the favour shown to him by the caliph Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik [105–125/724–743].[9] Abū'l-Ṣabbāḥ responded favourably. Then they approached ʿAlqama ibn Ghīyāth al-Lakhmī and Abū ʿAlāqa al-Judhāmī- the ancestor of Fujayl the Brave al-Shadhūnī, and Zīyād ibn ʿAmr al-Judhāmī—the ancestor of the *Banū Zīyād* of *Shadhūna*, who were the leaders of the Syrians settled in Shadhūna.[10] They responded favourably. So they approached the Qaḥṭānid elders in Elvira and Jaén, like the ancestor of the Banū *Aḍḥā* of the Hamadān Arabs, and the ancestors of the *Banū Ḥassān* and the Banū ʿUmar, Ghassānid Arabs who were masters of *Wādī Āsh* [Guadix]; and Maysara and Qaḥṭaba Ṭāyyid Arabs of Jaén.[11]

They also approached al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Dajn al-ʿUqaylī, because of his hatred of al-Ṣumayl He was the only one among the Muḍarid Arabs who took the side of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān because the others supported Yūsuf al-Fihrī, for the sake of his minister al-Ṣumayl and because of their collective opposition to the Qaḥṭānids.

When all this had been done, they went to Badr and said, ‘Go and tell your master we agree.’

* * *

But when Badr came back with their message, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said, ‘I am uneasy about going to al-Andalus, unless one of them accompanies me.’ So Badr returned with his answer to them. At that time Yūsuf al-Fihrī was organising an attack against *Saraqusṭa* [Saragossa] where ʿĀmir al-Qurashī al-ʿĀmiri had rebelled.[12] The *Bāb al-ʿĀmirī* [the ʿĀmirī Gate] of that city is named after him. Now, Abū ʿUthmān and his son-in-law ʿAbdallāh had come to Cordova to see Yūsuf off on his campaign and they began to get cold feet about their conspiracy.

* * *

So they asked al-Ṣumayl for a secret meeting at which they recalled the favour shown to him and his children by the Umayyads of Damascus. They said, ‘Look, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya is in North

Africa, hiding out and afraid for his life. He has sent a message to us asking for safe conduct here and begs you to recall what you know and well remember.' 'Yes, willingly,' he said. 'We will oblige Yūsuf to betroth his daughter to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and give him a post in his government: otherwise we shall cleave in his bald pate!'

They left him with that to think about and went to meet their companions among the clients of Cordova, like Yūsuf ibn Bukht, Umayyaẖ ibn Yazīd and others who gave their support.[13] Then they went to say farewell to al-Ṣumayl who said, 'Well, I have thought about your proposal and I have realised that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān is from a line of people, who, if one of them pissed in this country, we would all drown in his piss![14] But—God has chosen you to carry out his bidding, so I will keep secret what you have confided in me.' He swore to do so.

They left and were joined in the plot by Tammām ibn ʿAlqama, whose name they took as a good omen.[15] They went off with him and came to Abū Furayʿa and the Syrian clients saying what had happened.[16] Abū Furayʿa was a good sailor, being used sailing, so they sent him and Tammām back with Badr.

After they had crossed to North Africa they met with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who asked Badr, 'Who are these?' He replied, This is your client Tammān, and this is your client Abū Furayʿa.' Tammām punned, 'It's fulfilled!' Abū Furayʿa punned in turn, 'God willing, we'll ravage the land!'[17] So they returned by boat and landed at *Al-Munakkab* [Almuñecar], where Abū ʿUthmān and ʿAbdallāh met them. They brought them to *Ilfuntīn*, the home of ʿAbdallāh, which was on their way; then to Torrox in Elvira province, the home of Abū ʿUthmān.[18] The head of the Arabs of *Rayya* province was Jidār ibn ʿAmr al-Qaysī, the ancestor of the *Banū ʿAqīl*, whom they contacted and informed of the arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He replied, 'Bring him to the prayer hall of *Urjudhūna* [Archidona] the day we break the Fast of *Ramaḍān* and you will see what I shall do, God willing.'[20] So they came. When the preacher (*khaṭīb*) appeared, Jidār rose and said: 'Denounce Yūsuf al-Fihrī and pray for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya ibn Hishām, because he is our prince and the son of our prince!'[21] So the preacher asked, 'People of *Rayya*—What do you say!?' 'We agree with you!' they retorted. So he prayed for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and they all swore allegiance to him after the prayers were over.

* * *

At that time Archidona was the seat of power *(qāʿida)* in the province of *Rayya*.[22] Jidār invited ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to stay with him. The news of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's arrival reached the Banū'l-Khalīʿ, clients of Yazīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik [101–105/720–724] from *Tākurrunā* [Tecorona], they arrived in a party of 400 horses, and proceeded to advance on *Shadhūna*.[23] They were met by the ancestor of the *Banū*

Ilyās, also with a great host.[24] Many had joined him before he met the men of Shadhūna, including Syrians and original Arab settlers.

* * *

Then Abū'l-Ṣabbāḥ of Seville arrived with Ḥaywaṯ ibn Malāmis who were the leaders of the Arabs in the west of al-Andalus. They met ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and swore allegiance. Then they all entered Seville [towards the end of the month of *Shawwāl* [138/March 756] where everyone else in western al-Andalus swore allegiance. Eventually he had the support of all the Arabs.

* * *

Yūsuf heard the news while he was returning from his expedition, having captured the rebel, al-ʿĀmirī. He made for Seville and camped and the fort of *Nība* [Niba]. When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān learned of this he set out at once for Cordova. They were on opposite sides of the Rio Guadalquivir in that month of *Ādhār* [March]. When Yūsuf saw ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's determination to get to Cordova, he turned about and made for there.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān camped at the village of *Bila Nūba of the Baḥrīyīn* [Villa Nueva] of the Banū *Baḥr*, in the district of *Ṭushshāna* [Tocina], in the province of Seville.[25] Now, some of the elders said, 'A lord without his own banner is a big mistake.' So they resolved to give him one. A lance was requested from among the troops from which a banner could be unfurled. The only ones that they could find were that of Abū'l-Ṣabbāḥ and Abū ʿAkrama Jaʿfar ibn Yazīd, the ancestor of the *Banū Salīm* of *Shadhūna*.[26] One of them was used and the banner attached in the village, where Farqad al-Saraqusṭī, the 'Saint (ābid) of al-Andalus', blessed it that very day.[27] The *Banū Baḥr* are a branch of the Lakhmid Arabs.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān asked, 'What day is it today?' 'Thursday,' said someone, 'and the Day of the Piligrimage to ʿArafaħ.' ʿArafaħ is today!' he exclaimed, 'then tomorrow is the Feast of the Sacrifice—(*Īd al-aḍḥā*) and Friday to boot! I hope my affair with al-Fihrī will turn out the same as the day of the Battle of Marj Rāhiṭ. Because the Battle of Marj Rāhiṭ was between Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam and al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays al-Fihrī, the commander of ʿAbdallāh ibn Zubayr, and it fell on a Friday which was the Day of the Sacrifice.[28] Things went against al-Fihrī. 70,000 men of Qays and their Qaḥṭān id tribes were killed. The emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥakamʿ Abd al-Raḥmān II (206–238/822–852)]—composed some verses on this theme, including:

> Qays did not thrive, nor was any supporter strong after the Battle of Marj Rahit when they dispersed.

* * *

Then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ordered his men to march by night, to be at the gates of Cordova by the next morning, saying, 'If the infantry accompany us they will surely straggle behind us, so let every one of you take one of them with you on your horse's rump.' Then his eye lit upon a youth *(ghulām)*. 'Who are you, young fellow?' he asked. 'Sābiq the son of Mālik the son of Yazīd,' he replied. 'Aha! said ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 'Sābiq' means we will win the race: "Mālik" means we will be king; and "Yazīd", we will prosper! Give me your hand: you will be my saddle-mate.'[29] His descendants who live in *Murun* [Morón], are known as the 'Sons of Sābiq the Saddle-Mate' (Banū *Ṣābiq al-radīf*).[30] They are Barānis Berbers, and one of their number was Abū Marwān al-Ẓarīf

Thus they travelled by night, and arrived at *Bā'ish* [Bayax] the next morning.[31] Meanwhile Yūsuf had gone on and entered the palace at dawn. When the yellow light of early morning appeared ʿAbd al-Raḥmān moved on the offensive. With him were the Arabs of Elvira and those of Jaén. The river was treacherous because of the current and the two armies met at the ford below the waterwheel (nāʿūra). The first of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's men to plunge into the water was ʿĀṣim al-ʿUryān who was the ancestor of the Banū *ʿĀṣim*.[32] Then the entire army—cavalry and infantry—followed him until they reached the opposite bank. But Yūsuf did not tremble. For an hour the battle raged at *Al-Muṣāraħ* [Almozara], [the esplanade west of the *Bāb al-qanṭaraħ* the Bridge Gate] until Yūsuf was beaten and could not return to the palace.[33] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān advanced and took it, whereupon he went into its kitchens and most of those with him ate.

Then Yūsuf's wife and two daughters approached and said: 'Be good to us dear friend, as God has been good to you!' 'And so I shall,' he replied. 'Now, call the prayer leader!' At that time the prayer leader *(ṣāḥib al-ṣalāh)* was the ancestor of the *Banū Salmān*—the grain merchants *(harrā'īyūn)*—who was a client of Yūsuf.[34] He told him to take the women to his home and ʿAbd al- Raḥmān slept that night in the palace. Yūsuf's daughter presented him with a slave girl called. *Hulal*, who became the mother of his son Hishām.

Then they advanced, *en masse*, from the palace gate but Maysara and Qaḥṭaba the Ṭāyyid Arabs lagged behind, crossed the river and went to the home of al-Ṣumayl in Secunda, which they sacked, while al-Ṣumayl watched from the mountains overlooking *Shubulār*.[35] They discovered a casket containing 10,000 silver *dinars,* which made al-Ṣumayl say aloud as he watched, the verse:[36]

> My money is with the Ṭāyyid only as a deposit,
> and one day deposits must be returned.

* * *

Then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went that same day to the Great Mosque of Cordova and said the Friday prayers with the inhabitants, preaching a sermon in which he promised them that all would be well.[37]

* * *

Meanwhile Yūsuf seized *Gharnaṭa* [Granada]. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went after him and laid siege to the town until Yūsuf surrendered with a promise of safe conduct. Now, while the siege was in progress, Yūsuf's son was in Mérida, and when he heard what had befallen to his father he made for Cordova and captured the palace in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's absence.[38] As soon as the latter heard that he set off back.

* * *

When Yūsuf's son learned of his approach he fled to Toledo. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān sent for ʿĀmir ibn ʿAlī who was a man of authority and high rank among the—Qaḥṭānids and the ancestor of the *Banū Fahd* of *Rusāfa*.[39] He made ʿĀmir his deputy and entrusted the palace to his care. He returned to continue the siege, which ended as related. Then Yūsuf reneaged and fled to Toledo, where his own men killed him. Thus ʿAbd al-Raḥmān gained control.

He made ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUqba governor of the land between Narbonne and *Ṭurṭūsha* [Tortosa], and gave control of Toledo to a descendant of Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda al-Anṣārī who lived there.[40]

* * *

Now, it was brought to his ears that Abū'l-Ṣabbāḥ had said to Thaʿlaba ibn ʿUbayd when Yūsuf was defeated and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān gained control, Thaʿlaba, what do you think about the idea of two victories in one go?' 'What do you mean?' replied the other. 'Well, said Abū'l-Ṣabbāḥ 'We have got rid of Yūsuf, so let us get rid of the other one,'—meaning—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 'and then al-Andalus will be in the hands of the Qaḥṭānid Arabs.' When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān heard that, he sought Thaʿlaba and made him swear an oath of loyalty, and then Thaʿlaba told him what had happened. So, a year later, he had Abū'l-Ṣabbāḥ killed by a trick.

* * *

Abū'l-Ṣabbāḥ had been leader of the Arabs in the west of al-Andalus, as previously related. In *Lablaħ* [Niebla] his nephew ʿAbd al-Ghaffār was in control, and at Beja were two other nephews, ʿAmr ibn Ṭālūt and Kulthūm ibn Yaḥṣub These nephews were enraged at what had befallen their uncle and set off to attack Cordova, while ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was away on the northern frontier. As soon as he heard this ʿAbd al-Raḥmān hurried back and encamped at *Ruṣāfaħ*, where his minister (wazīr) ʿUrayfaħ was at that time. Then Shuhayd his sworn deputy arrived from the palace and said, 'If you came to the palace you

could rest the night there.' But he answered, 'Shuhayd, what is the good of a night's rest? If we do not deal with what we have to now, we shall only have to face it in the morning!'[41]

So, he set off and came upon the enemy encamped at *Wādī Amnīs/ Amanbīs*, [Rio Bembézar].[42] They were at the village of *Bansh* [Viñas], in the quarter called *al-Rakūnīyīn*, popularly known as *al-Rakākina*. As evening ʿAbd al-Raḥmān rode out with some of his trusted clients and entourage, accompanied by some soldiers. They heard the Berber tongue being spoken in the enemy ranks. So ʿAbd al-Raḥmān summoned his Berber clients—the *Banū'l-Khalīʿ* and *Banū Wānsūs*—and said, 'Talk to your countrymen. Warn them that if the Qaḥṭānid Arabs take over and our rule is overthrown, there will be no place for them.'

So when night fell the Berbers approached their compatriots and spoke to them, receiving a favourable reply and a promise to desert their army. The next morning they said to the Arabs, 'We do not like the idea of fighting unless we can be mounted. Let us mount up and the Arabs can go on foot' So the Arabs let the Berbers mount up while they went on foot. Then the Berbers went over to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and ʿAbd al-Ghaffār suffered the defeat in which he and thirty thousand of his men perished, [in the year 157–158/744]. The trench where their heads were collected, behind the Rio Bembézar, is known to this day. So ʿAbd al-ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went off victorious.

* * *

But after that there was a great uprising in Saragossa by Muṭarrif ibn al-Aʿrābī and others after him. Some one claiming descent from ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib [35–40/565–661]—may God have mercy upon him —also revolted in *al-Hawwārīyīn* [Alorines], near Jaén. But ʿAbd al-Raḥmān defeated them all.

* * *

It happened that the ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Manṣūr [136–258/754–775] sent a message to al-ʿAlā' ibn al-Mughīth al-Judhāmī of Beja in the west of al-Andalus where he was leader. This included a diploma of appointment as governor and a banner. The message said: Can you oppose *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān If not I shall send someone to help you.*

* * *

So al-'Alā' rose up and summoned people to support him. A great multitude followed him and most of the population tried to overthrow ʿAbd al-Raḥmān When he heard this, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān left Cordova and sought refuge in the fort of *Qarmūna* [Carmona], with his trusted clients and their friends (*khāṣṣatuhum*) Al-'Alā' descended on Carmona and besieged it for close on two months. But as the siege dragged on most of his men began to melt away: some deserted, others went foraging for food. When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān saw the breaking up of the

enemy troops, he called together 700 of his bravest men and ordered that a fire be lit; which was done so at the gate called the *Bāb Ishbīlī ya* [the Seville Gate]. Then he ordered them to throw their scabbards on the fire, and each man taking his sword by the hilt rushed out of the gate and battle began. And God caused the collapse of al-'Alā' and his men, who fled.

Al-'Alā' was killed in the battle; his head was cut off and preserved in salt and camphor and put in a bag (*safaṭ*), together with diploma and the banner. It was given to a man from Cordova who was making the Pilgrimage to Makka and he was ordered to leave it there. Now, it so happened that al-Manṣūr was making the Pilgrimage that year, so the man hung the bag on the door of his pavillion. When it was brought to al-Manṣūr, he looked at it and said, 'We caused the poor wretch to be killed,' adding, Thank God there is an ocean between us and such an enemy!'[43]

* * *

There was no further attempt before the death of—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,—may God have mercy upon him![44]

* * *

At the beginning of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's sojourn in al-Andalus he met the famous jurist *(faqīh)* of Damascus, Muʿāwīya ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥaḍramī whom he sent back for his two sisters in Syria with some money.[45] When he approached them they said to him, The journey is not worth the upset. We are safe, thank God, enjoy the favour of people and consider that we are well off.' So he left them and went away.

* * *

Now it happened that Yaḥyā ibn Yazīd al-Tujībī, the judge (*qāḍī*) appointed over the Syrians in Spain by the caliph Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik [105–125/ 724–743]—may God have mercy on them both—died.[46] So ʿAbd al-Raḥmān appointed [Muʿāwīya ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥaḍramī]. He was retained by Hishām [ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (172–180/788–796)] and lived for another year. Yaḥyā was the ancestor of the Tujībids of Cordova who have occupied important posts in the service of the state.[47]

* * *

During the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, al-Ghāzī ibn Qays (d. 197/812) brought to al-Andalus a copy of the book by Mālik ibn Anas—may God have mercy upon him—called *al-Muwaṭṭa'* ['The Footprint'], according to the recension of Nāfiʿ ibn Abī Naʿīm.[48] He was regularly honoured with gifts that were brought to his house. Also during his rule, came Abū Mūsā al-Hawwārī, the 'Scholar *(ʿālim)* of al-Andalus', who had added his knowledge of the ancient Arabs to his religious knowledge.[49] The journeys of these two from the East to al-Andalus occurred after the arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān

* * *

Shaykh Ibn Lubāba has related [as follows]*: 'We were informed by al-ʿUtbī that whenever Abū Mūsā entered Cordova from his village in the area of Móron, where he lived, none of the city's religious shaykhs—neither ʿĪsā ibn Dīnār (d. 212/827), nor Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā (d.234/848), nor Saʿd [Saʿīd] ibn Ḥassān (d. 236/850)—may God have mercy upon them—would issue a *fatwā* [legal ruling] until he had left.'[50]

* * *

The 'Bard (*shāʿir*) of al-Andalus' at this time, Abū'l-Makhshī, wrote a poem in praise of Sulaymān, the son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in which it was believed he had slandered Hishām, Sulaymān's brother, because there was bad blood between the two brothers.[51] A furious partisan of Hishām blinded the poet. But he composed some good verses on the matter, went to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and recited them before him. The latter was moved, and examined the case and called for 2,000 dinars, which he gave him, thereby doubling the blood money given for a bodily injury. The verses began like this:

My muse was subject to attack.*
What God decrees will come to pass.
She saw one blind and sightless*
only able to walk the Earth with a stick.
She was humble, but spoke*
so ardently that I am sorely tried.
So, my heart is festering from her words*
there is no affliction like blindness.

These lines were recited by ʿAbbās ibn Nāṣiḥ to al-Ḥasan ibn Hāni', who said: These verses are what other poets aspire to—but it eludes them.'[52]

* * *

Now when Hishām ascended the throne—may God have mercy upon him he sent for the poet, as he was distressed by what had happened [because of him], and gave the poet double the blood money.

* * *

Abū'l-Makhshī composed some other verses—they say they were his last:

My muse's weak efforts*
sustain a man like me who used to sustain her.
When she remembers what happened between us*
she weeps and beseeches fate to reverse what can't be changed.

* * *

Concerning Arṭabās:* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ordered the confiscation of his estates.

* * *

It was because one day, while they were on campaign together he saw his estates, and all the gifts that were presented to him from those estates whenever they halted, and that excited his greed, so he seized them. Arṭabās sought refuge with his nephews until he could be ar it no more. So he came to Cordova and approached the chamberlain (*ḥājib*) Ibn Bukht, saying, 'Grant me an audience with the emir [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān] God preserve him, for I have come to say goodbye.'[53] So the chamberlain arranged that and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had him brought into his presence. When he saw his ragged appearance he said, ʿArṭabās what has brought you to this!?' He replied, 'You have brought me to this, because you have taken my estates and broken the pledge of your ancestors to me—without any justification to do that to me!' ʿAbd al-Raḥmān retorted, 'And this farewell you wish to make: what is that about? I expect you plan to go to *Rūma* [Rome].' Arṭabās replied, 'No, but I have heard that you intend to go to Damascus.' ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said, 'And who would let me, after I was forced out of there by the sword!?' So Arṭabās said, 'The position you are now in, do you want to hand it down to your son, or do you intend to deny him what has been given to you?' 'No, by God, said ʿAbd al-Raḥmān all I want is to consolidate it; for me and for my son.' So Arṭabās said, 'Well —consider this matter and act upon it!'

Then he informed him of some of the things that people disapproved about him and made them clear to him. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was happy with this information and thanked him. He ordered that 20 of his estates be given back to him and gave him new clothes and gifts, appointing him to the post of *qawmis* [*al-qimāsa,* Latin *comes*, count], of whom he was the first in al-Andalus.

* * *

And related* Shaykh Ibn Lubāba—may God bless him—according to his shaykhs, that Arṭabās was one of the most astute men of his time. One day some ten Syrians came to him, including Abū ʿUthmān, ʿAbdallāh, his son-in-law, Abū ʿAbda, Yūsuf ibn Bukht and al-Ṣumayl.[54] They greeted him and sat on chairs around his chair. After they had taken their places and greeted one another, Maymūn 'the Saintly' *(al-ʿābid)* came in. He was the ancestor of the Banū *Ḥazm* al-bawwābīn and one of the Syrian clients.[55] Now, when Arṭabās saw him enter, he stood up, took his hand and led him to his own chair, which was inlaid with gold and silver. But the righteous man refused it, saying, 'It is not permitted to us,' and sat on the floor.[56] Arṭabās sat there with him and said, 'Why has someone such as you

come to one such as me?' Maymūn answered, 'We came to this land thinking that our stay would be short. We did not prepare for a long stay. Then occurred the troubles of our masters in the East—we never imagined we would never return to our places there.[57] Now, God has been generous to you, so I ask you to give me one of your estates. I shall work it with my own hands and give you your share and take my share.'

But Arṭabās said, 'No, certainly not! I would not be happy with a shared estate.' He summoned one of his administrators (sing. *wakīl*) and said to him: 'Give him *al-Mujashshir* at Guadajoz, together with its cows, goats and serfs.[58] Give him the castle (qalʿa) at Jaén called the Castle of Ḥazm…' Maymūn thanked him and rose to his feet, and Arṭabās returned to his chair.

Then al-Ṣumayl spoke up, saying, 'Arṭabās, why do you throw away your father's legacy? I, the lord of the Arabs in al-Andalus, come here, with my companions, who are the heads of the clients here, and you have shown us no more honour than giving us somewhere to sit! This beggar arrives and you cannot do enough for him!' But Arṭabās replied, 'Listen Abū Jawshan, the people of your faith tell us that good manners are unknown to you. If you had ever been educated, you would not object to an act of charity towards a righteous person!' For al-Ṣumayl was an illiterate, ignorant of reading and writing. 'Truly God has honoured you—you have status and power. I only honoured that man for the sake of God Most High! The Messiah—peace and praises be upon Him—has told us: *Whoever of God's servants has been honoured by Him, should honour all his fellow men.*' Al-Ṣumayl had to eat his words, and the others said, 'Enough of this! Consider what we have come for. Our needs and those of the one you have just gratified are the same!' Arṭabās replied, 'You are kings, so only abundance will make you happy' He granted them 100 estates, giving ten to each. Abū ʿUthmān received Torrox; ʿAbdallāh, his son-in-law got Ilfuntīn [Frontil] and al-Ṣumayl received an olive grove in *al-Mudawwar* [Almodóvar del Rio].[59]

Concerning al-Ṣumayl*: One day al-Ṣumayl passed by a teacher (mua'ddib) instructing children to read the Qur'ān. He was reciting the verse: *And such days—(good and bad)—We deal out among men, in turns* (Āl *ʿImrān* iii, 140). Al-Ṣumayl interjected, 'Surely it says, among the Arabs' 'Among men,' replied the man. 'Is that what the verse says?' queried al-Ṣumayl 'Yes,' replied the man, 'that is how it is.' Al-Ṣumayl said, Then, by God, it means we are associated with serfs, scum and scoundrels!'[60]

* * *

On one occasion 'Abd al-Raḥmān's left al-Ṣumayl presence after he had reproached him. He left with his hat *(qalansūwa)* askew and met a

man at the palace gate who said to him, ‘Straighten your hat!’ Al-Ṣumayl retorted, ‘It has the men who will straighten it for me!’

Notes and comments

1 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I ibn Muʿāwīya ibn Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, born Syria, 113/731, emir of al-Andalus from 138/756 until his death in Cordova in 172/788: EI. 2nd i. 81–82.

2 See *History* 12 6. n ote 16. The Munyat Abū'l-Fatḥ Naṣr, was the estate of *Naṣr* mayordomo of ʿAbd al-Rahmān II (206–238/822–852), which obviously did not belong to him at this time. But the events must have occurred at the spot which Naṣr later acquired: Lévi-Provençal iii, 380.

3 See *History* 53, note 31, for Ḥabīb ibn Abī ʿUbayda ibn ʿUqba.

4 EI 2nd 1,81–82.

5 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's mother, Rāḥ was a Beber of the Nafza tribe, which is one reason why he undertook the extraordinary and, for him, risky journey from Syria to Morocco. For a reconstruction of his route see Cruz Hernández (1998), 65–66. ʿAbd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān was the son of the caliph Marwān I (64–65/684–685) and the father of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (99–100/717–720). He died while governor of Egypt in 85/704: EI 2nd i, 158. This Berber tribe mentioned here, the *Banū Wānsūs*, may already have had members in al-Andalus. It became prominent there after giving its help to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I A member of the Banū Wānsūs, Sulaymān, became a minister of the emir ʿAbdallāh: *History* 133; Fierro (1990) no. 38.

6 Abū ʿUthmān ʿUbaydallāh ibn ʿUthmān played a major role in the establishment of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I in al-Andalus. He gets a fuller account in the Akhbār *Majmūʿa:* Anon/Lafuente y Alcántara (1 867) 72–73, 74. A client of Abū ʿUthmān was the the ancestor of Ibn Lubāba, the teacher of Ibn al-Qūṭīya and one of his main sources for the History: Molina (1989) 76. The place name Torrox, *Ṭurrush* and its derivatives, Tolex, Torres, Torrecilla, *Ṭirrijīya*, describe locations that had Visigothic—or Roman—fortifications: Acién Almansa (1995) 30.

7 ʿAbdallāh ibn Khālid had several important descendants who appear later in the *History.* According to García Gómez it was one of these, *Dūankīr* (d.w.n.k.y.r.) or *Doñeguero,* who caused Ibn Ḥafṣūn to rebel against the Umayyads: García Gómez (1954).

8 The founder of the *Banū Yaḥṣub:* Fierro (1990) no. 49.

9. Abū ʿAbda was founder of the *Banū Abī ʿAbda* and one of the Syrians who went to meet Arṭabās His descendant was the general, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī ʿAbda, who defeated Ibn Ḥafṣūn and the rebels of Tudmīr/Murcia: History 76, 135; Fierro (1990) no. 50.

10 Abū ʿAlāqa was the founder of the *Banū Abī ʿAlāqa al-Judhāmī* and one of the Syrians who met with Artabas: Fierro (1990) no. 71; 66. Zīyād ibn ʿAmr al-Judhāmī was a Syrian chief of *Shadhūna* and founder of *Banū Zīyād* of *Shadhūna*: Fierro (1990) no. 8. A descendant of Zīyād was Mūsā ibn Zīyād al- Judhāmī, who was a judge during the reign of ʿAbdallāh (275–300/888–912): *History* 76, 133.

11 Ibn al-Qūṭīya does not mention the names of these ancestors of the *Banū Aḍḥā*, *Banū Ḥassān* and *Banū ʿUmar* who helped ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I Fierro (1990) nos. 9–11.

12 In 137/754–755 ʿĀmir and Ḥabāb al-Zuhrī, who were Kalbid Arabs, besieged Saragossa. In 138/755 Yūsuf and al-Ṣumayl overcame and ejected them and took them prisoner: Souto (2001), 118.

13 Yūsuf ibn Bukht al-Fārisī and Umayya ibn Yazīd were Umayyad clients. Their descendants in the *Banū Bukht* and the *Banū Umayya ibn Yazīd* occupied posts in the administration of al-Andalus under the Umayyads: Fierro (1990) nos. 51–52. The former went with the Syrians to visit Arṭabās: *History* 76.

14 Meaning that the Umayyads were a race of giants: men of great power.

15 Founder of the *Banū Tammām*: Fierro (1990) no.54. See note 17 below for the meaning of Tammām.

16 Founder of the *Banū Abī Furayʿa*: Fierro (1990) no. 53. Al-Abyārī vocalises the name Furayʿa: Ibn-Akutiya (1982) 47; al-Ṭabbāʿ gives Farīʿa, Ibn al-Qūṭīya (1957) 48.

17 *Iftaraʿa*, meaning to lay waste and *tamma* (Tammām) meaning to be fulfilled, complete.

18 *Ilfuntīn* or *Alfuntīn/Alfuntayn* was probably Frontil, north of Loja, though it no longer exists.

19 Fierro (1990) no. 12.

20 The day of *ʿId al-fiṭr*, the feast day that celebrates the end of the fast of the month of *Ramaḍān*.

21 Meaning that he was an Umayyad and a direct descendant of the former ruling dynasty of Damascus.

22 The town of Archidona is located in a most spectacular spot, on the side of a

huge *cirque* or corrie. Impressive Islamic fortifications remain. These were built in the third/ninth century and restored in Naṣrid times by Muḥammad V (755–760/ 1,354–1,359; 763–793/1,362–1,391). The appearance of the mountain today can hardly have changed since ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's visit, apart from, perhaps, more tree coverage. Within the double wall of the fortress is a mosque which dates from the third/ninth century, and is the oldest surviving mosque in the modern province of Málaga. It became the Church of *La Virgén de Gracía*, after the Castillian conquest of the city in 1462. This mosque may have been the site of the prayer hall where ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was proclaimed. However, the prayer hall was probably further down the slope of the mountain, where the modern town now stands: EI 2nd x, 873; Acién Almansa (1995) 41; López Guzmán (2002) 799–802.

23 They were Berber clients of the Ummayad caliph Yazīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (101–105/720–724): Fierro (1990) no. 39.

24 Fierro (1990) no. 13.

25 Fierro (1990) no. 40.

26 Fierro (1990) no. 14 and note 14, where he is said by Ibu Hayyan (1973) note 7, to be a descendant of a client of the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān (96–99/715–717). Some youthful members of this family were involved in a theft of tax money after the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206–238/822–852): *History* 123. Other members are Muḥammad ibn al-Salīm, civil governor of Cordova in the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II History 103; and Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Salīm, market inspector (*ṣāḥib al-sūq,* Sp. *zabazoque and almotacén –al-muḥtasib*) and minister of ʿAbdallāh (275/300/888–912): *History* 133, and Saʿīd ibn al-Mundhir called Ibn al-Salīm, who fought against the *Banū Ḥafṣūn* in the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300–360/912–961): *History* 140.

27 Farqad ibn ʿAwn (or ʿAwf) al-ʿAdwānī who died in the reign of Hishām (172–180/ 788–796): al-Ḍabbī (1997) no. 1,290.

28 It actually took place on 1st *Muḥarram* 65/18 August 684 on the plain of Marj Rāhiṭ, near Damascus. Marwān, the victor, was supported by the Kalbids and ʿAbdallāh by the Qaysids. The day of the Sacrifice, ʿId al-aḍḥā Greater Bayram, falls on the 10th *Dhu'l-Hijja*: EI 2nd vi, 544–545.

29 Meaning that they all took a rider on their horses' croup *(ridāf)*. *Radīf* means: 'one who rides behind another on the back of the same beast': Lane Bk. i, pt. 3, 1,068.

30 Fierro (1990) no. 15.

31 This was the nearest crossing point to Cordova, lying near a hamlet of Roman (?) origin. Alternative spellings are given by the authors of the *Faṭh* al-Andalus: *Babash*, *Yabash*, and the *Akhbār majmūʿa*: *Babash*: see Ocaña Jiménez (1998) 272, note 38.

32 He was evidently one of the Arabs of Jaén. According to Fierro he was probably a client of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī, governor of Kufa during the reign of the Umayyad caliph Muʿāwīya (41–60/661–680): Fierro (1990) no. 16.

33 The *al-Mūṣāra* area lay west of the Roman bridge, between the Roman city wall and the river bank. Although the events related here would have been hard on the men, they would have been even harder on the horses who had to carry twice their normal weight, with perhaps some baggage over terrain, in the dark, ford a difficult river, and then take part in a furious battle. But this is by no means improbable given that mediaeval men were smaller, and horses hardier, than their modern counterparts. The stamina of such hardy breeds of the semi-desert steppes, like the Turkoman horse is legendary. Well into the twentieth century the latter were capable of being ridden on raids of 200 km into enemy territory. Even in the nineteenth century a European cavalry horse should have been able to carry a soldier weighing up to 15 stones (90 kg), saddle, equipment and even some armour in the case of heavy cavalry, over rough terrain all day: Lévi-Provençal i, 162; iii, fig. 12; Dodwell (1987) 39.

34 The Paris manuscript folio 11 recto, says: *harrāʾīyīn* (grain merchants) not *qarrāʾīn* or *qurrāʾīn* (Qurʾān reciters), which appears in most printed editions; *harrāʾi*, grain merchant, *hurīy*, granary: Dozy ii, 756; Fierro (1990) no. 17. See also *History* 94, note 26 on the *Banū Bassām*.

35 The area of *Shuballār/Shabulār* lay east of the Roman bridge, between the Roman city wall and the river bank. The name is derived from Latin: *Sabularia* (Spanish *arenal*—'quicksand'), according to Lévi-Provençal. By the fourth/tenth century this area lay within the commercial district of Cordova. The only mountains nearby are the southern slopes of the *Sierra Morena*, where the caliphal palace of *Madīnat al-zahrāʾ* was later built. If the story of al-Ṣumayl's poetic threat is true, he must have seen the events from the opposite bank of the river: Lévi-Provençal iii, 370, note 1 and fig 12.

36 Al-Andalus had a silver *dirhām* and a gold *dīnār*, plus a *mithqāl* for everyday transactions. According to a table for the years 457–460/1065–1067 given by Abūʾl-Aṣbagh ibn Sahl (d. 486/1093) in his *Dīwān al-aḥkām al-kubrā* the purchasing power of this coinage was: a black slave =160 *mithqāls*; a slave=28 *mithqāls*; a horse=24 *mithqāls*; a house in Cordova =160 *mithqāls*; a garden in Cordova= 240 *mithqāls*: Lévi-Provençal iii, 116, note 2.

37 At this time there was no mosque as such. Yūsuf al-Fihrī (governed 129–138/746–756) is said to have taken over half of the church called San Vicente, for the use of the Muslims. This stood on the spot where the first mosque was eventually built by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I in 169/784–785. See *History* 84, note 6. San Vicente was one of several churches in Cordova: San Felix and San Acisclo were two others. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's speech in the mosque can be seen as one of the first examples of his generally conciliatory attempts to secure his always rather precarious position: EI 2nd v, 509–512; Cruz Hernández (1998) 67.

38 Mérida was considered to be of great strategic importance and was, initially at least, always entrusted to a son of the governor or emir.

39 ʿĀmir was the chief of the Qaḥṭānids Fierro (1990) no. 18. The Banū Fahd al-Ruṣāfīyūn were from Ruṣāfa. A Fransiscan Hermitage was built at Ruṣāfa in the fifteenth century and called Arrizafa, but in the 2nd/8th century it was a palace, named after the summer residence of the Damascus caliph Hishām. built in 110/728 between Palmyra and the Euphrates. While the original Ruṣāfa was a palace out in the Syrian Desert, the Andalusīan version was close by Cordova. It was built on the site of a Roman villa, which may have been still standing, in part at least: Cruz Hernández (1998), 75.

40 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd ibn ʿAlqama was the governor of Narbonne according to Lévi-Provençal i, 47. For Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda, see Fierro (1990) no. 82.

41 The ancestor of the *Banū Shuhayd,* although Ibn al-Qūṭīya does not say so. The family provided several outstanding officials of Umayyad al-Andalus. They were probably not Arabs, nor *Muwallads* (neo-Muslims) and may have been Berbers or Europeans of some kind: Fierro (1990) no. 55 and note 59.

42 Ribera suggests the Rio Bembézar, which is north-west of Cordova and today the location of a dam, the Embalse de Bembézar. Houdas says *manbasīr;* Al-Ṭabbāʿ gives *amanbīs,* and al-Abyārī *amnīs* and *amanbīs:* Abenalcotía/ Ribera (1926) 24.

43 The bag was delivered to Quairouan by a merchant whose business took him there, according to Lévi-Provençal i, 111.

44 In fact there were more attempts to overthrow him during the rest of his reign.

45 Muʿāwīya's mission was also encourage other members of the Umayyad family and their clients to come to the Iberian Peninsula. Those who did so came to form an aristocracy which Muslim writers referred to as the Qurayshid nobility: Lévi-Provençal i, 106–107.

46 Al-Khushanī (1952) no. 64.

47 Fierro (1990) no. 19. The term *khidma* used in the text meant civil or military service to which the Tujībid family supplied many members: Dozy i, 354–355.

48 Al-Ghāzī/Ghāzī ibn Qays was initially a follower of al-Awzāʿī's teaching, introduced to al-Andalus by one of his disciples Saʿsaʿa al-Shāmī (d. 192/807) and continued to have adherents after the introduction of Mālik's teachings. The *Muwaṭṭaʾ* the first great compilation of Islamic Law, the work of Mālik ibn Anas ibn Abīʿ Āmir al-Ahbahī, judge of Madina (d. 179/795–796). The *Muwaṭṭaʾ* is the earliest surviving book of Islamic law. But Mālik did not transmit a definitive edition and the various recensions *(riwāyas)* differ in many places. Fifteen are known but only two survive in their entirety. In al-Andalus five *riwāyas* were studied in the third/ninth-fourth/tenth centuries. The school of law based on the work of Mālik was eventually adopted throughout western Islam, including al-Andalus: EI 2nd vi, 262–265; Idris (1998) 3–4.

49 Al-Ḥumaydī gives two anecdotes about Abū Mūsā in his *Ṭabaqāt*: al-Ḥumaydī (1953) 275, 284, 291, 302.

50 Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-ʾAzīz al-ʾUṭbī (d. 254 or 255/868–69) was a leading conservative scholar and author of a manual called *al-Mustakharja*, or *al-ʾUṭbīya* He was an opponent of Muḥammad ibn Waḍḍāḥ and Baqīy ibn Makhlad, who advocated more freedom of thought in judicial matters: EI 2nd x, 245; Monès (1998) 14. For ʿĪsā ibn Dīnār, see EI 2nd iv, 87. The famous *faqīh* Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Laythī was of Berber origin and a member of the Banū Abī ʿĪsā. They were clients of the Banū Layth. Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd ibn Ḥassān was a *faqīh* and traditionist of Cordova. He studied under the disciples of Mālik at Madina and returned to Cordova in 204/819–820: EI 2nd xi, 248–249; Marín (1985) 291–320; Fierro (1990) no. 56; al-Khushanī (1992) no. 434; al-Ḍabbī no. 796.

51 Abū'l-Makhshī, ʿĀṣim ibn Zayd ibn Yaḥyā was born in Guadaioz and died around 180/796. The verses quoted are the beginning of a long *qaṣīda* See Terés (1961) 229–244.

52 ʿAbbās ibn Nāṣih was a poet and judge of Algeciras. Ibn al-Faraḍī (1954) i, no. 881. Al-Ḥasan ibn Hānīʾ was the famous eastern poet called Abū Nuwās, to whom ʿAbbās ibn Nāṣih was said to have recited the lines mentioned. See Terés (1961) 239.

53 The title *ḥājib* for chamberlain, chief minister was peculiar to al-Andalus. In the East *wazīr* was the title of the chief minister of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs: Lévi-Provençal iii, 18–22.

54 See History 67, 68.

55 The founder of the *Banū Ḥazm al-bawwābūn*: Fierro (1990) no. 20; and note 20 where she refers to Ḥafṣ ibn Maymūn and Wahballāh ibn Maymūn as possible descendants of Maymūn, but who according to the *Akhbār majmūʾa* were Maṣmūda Berbers, while Maymūn appears to have been a Syrian: Anon/Lafuente y Alcántara (1867) 104, 105.

56 Pious Muslims would try to avoid the use of objects and vessels made of precious metals, preferring simple earthenware to gold or silver bowls and plates. For this reason, Maymūn declined to sit on the chair inlaid with gold and silver.

57 By which he meant the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty of Damascus.

58 The text says *al-mḥṣḥ* (?) Al-Abyārī gives al-mujashshir. Al-Khushanī mentions a *majshar*, in case dealt with by the judge, ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdallāh. According to Dozy and Asín Palacios, quoted by Imamuddin, *majshar* means a substantial farmhouse (Spanish *cortijo*), and was derived from the late Latin word *massaria*: al-Khushanī (1952) 102; Imamuddin (1965) 79; Ibn-Akutya (1982) 59.

59 Almodóvar del Rio, 25 km west of Cordova on the river Guadalquivir.

60 This attitude of superiority by most Arabs towards Muslims of non-Arab origin had a lot to do with the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty of Damascus by the ʿAbbāsids who moved the capital of the caliphate to Baghdad, where non-Arab Muslims, especially Iranians, began to play a much greater role in political and religious matters. It also gave rise to the anti-Arab *Shuʿūbīya* movement, which found enthusiastic support in the peninsula among the Iberian converts to Islam: Monroe (1970) 1–21.

4
The Reign of the Emir Hishām (172–180/788–796)[1]

On the day that Hishām—may God have mercy upon him—was leaving the funeral of Thaʿlaba ibn ʿUbayd at the well-known cemetery of Quraysh in Cordova to go to Tha'laba's house, a dog rushed out of a neighbouring house and sank its teeth into his cloak—a double cloak of *Marwī cloth*—and ripped it.[2] 'Let the governor *(ʿāmil)* of Cordova fine the owner of that house a *dirham* for having a dog in a place frequented by Muslims!' cried Hishām. But as he left the house Hishām revoked the fine saying, 'We have distressed the owner of the house more than the damage to our cloak has distressed us.'

* * *

It is told that when Hishām ascended the throne he sent a message to al-Ḍabbī [ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Isḥāq al-Munajjim], the astrologer of Algeciras, in which he said, 'When you heard of my elevation to the throne, I have no doubt that you have seen my future so I beg you by the Almighty to tell me what appeared.'[3] Al-Ḍabbī replied, 'I beg you by the Almighty to excuse me from doing that' Which he did. But a few days later the astrologer made known the prediction and some one told the emir. So he sent for the astrologer and said, 'lf I want to know, of course it is not because I believe it: I just want to hear it; and if what you say should distress me, truly I shall forgive you and enrich you and give you a robe of honour and reward you as I have rewarded you when you told me something that pleased me.'

So he told him, 'You have but six or seven years left' Then the emir bowed his head in silence for an hour. Finally he looked up and said, 'Well, al-Ḍabbī if they are spent in worshiping the Almighty, it is little import to me.' He gave him a robe of honour and rewarded him and gave him leave to return to his home.[4] Then the emir—may God have mercy upon him—turned away from worldly things and began to think of higher ones.

* * *

Hishām governed his subjects as well as any ruler could: with

kindness, justice and humility. He visited the sick; he attended funerals; he reduced taxes; he gave alms and was modest in his dress and the sort of mount he rode.

* * *

After he had reigned for a year, the great *faqīh* of al-Andalus, Zīyād ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Lakhmī, the ancestor of the Banū Zīyād of Cordova, travelled to the East.[5] When he came to Madina he met Mālik ibn Anas, God have mercy upon him, who asked him about Hishām. When he told him of Hishām's conduct and his excellent behaviour, Mālik exclaimed, 'May God adorn our Heavenly Paradise with such a one as this!'

* * *

Hishām built the Great Mosque of Cordova and the bridge across the Rio Guadalquivir.[6]

* * *

During his reign ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Mughīth conquered Narbonne and with his share of the booty Hishām built the bridge and the mosque.[7]

* * *

When the Tujībid, Yaḥyā ibn Yazīd the judge, died in Cordova, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān sought the counsel of his two sons and advisors, Hishām and Sulaymān, about whom he should appoint as judge in his place. They said, 'Next to Almodóvar del Rio, just down from Cordova, we know of a shaykh of the Syrians who is a man of virtue and righteousness and great goodness. His name is Musʿab ibn ʿImrān al-Ḥamdānī The ministers of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān confirmed that what they said was true. He was sent for and when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had him in his presence, he told him why he had sent for him. But the Shaykh was silent. Now, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān could not tolerate anyone disobeying him so he flew into a violent rage. He seized his own long moustache and twisted it—always a sign of his imminent anger and fury. But God dispelled it, and the shaykh said, 'Yes—but may God's curse and wrath be on your advisers!' That coincided with the arrival of Muʿāwīya ibn Ṣāliḥ from a mission on which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had sent him, as related earlier, so he appointed him judge.[9] Muʿāwīya was judge until the time of Hishām, when he died.

* * *

Then Hishām sent for Musʿab and had him brought to his presence. He addressed him as follows, 'Listen to what I say! By God, Who has no equal, agree to what I ask you or I shall be so angry that justice and kindness will be gone as long as I live. The behaviour which you so hated in my father, God has given me power over. He will shower you with blessings in order to obtain justice for the sake of the Muslims. Even if you put a saw on my head I will not oppose you.'

So Musʿab agreed.[10]

This coincided with return of Muḥammad ibn Bashīr al-Maʿārifī al-Bājī from the Pilgrimage to Makka, and Musʿab asked him to be his secretary *(kātib)*.[11] He was his secretary until Musʿab died, when Muḥammad ibn Bashīr became judge, in the reign of al-Ḥakam, Hishām's successor.

* * *

Once Hishām passed by [Saʿīd] ibn Abī Hind, whom Mālik ibn Anas called the 'Sage *(ḥakīm)* of al-Andalus'. He arose and greeted Hishām, who said, 'Mālik has clothed you in a magnificent robe' [meaning Mālik has taught you well].

Notes and comments

1 Abū'lWalīd Hishām I ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, born 139/757, emir 172/788 until his death, 3 Ṣafar 180/17 April 796. According to Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn ʿIdhārī, at the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's death, in 172/788, Hishām was governor of Mérida: EI 2nd iii, 493; Fagnan (1898) i, 76–77; Fagnan (1901–1904) ii, 63.

2 *Banīqa maḥshū marwī*: a piece inserted, or perhaps the hem, of a doubled cloak of Marwī stuff. *Banīqa* is explained by al-Abyārī as *zīq*, hem. Lane says: 'the gore [insert]of a shirt'. *Maḥshū* probably a double or reinforced cloak or mantle. Marwī: literally 'of Merv', the town now in modern Turkestan. According to al-Maqqarī, *Ziryāb,* the arbiter of fashion in the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206–238/832–852), recommended the wearing of coarse garments of Merv at the end of summer, which Serjeant suggests must describe a type of material, rather than something from the town in Central Asia: Lane Bk. i, pt. 1, 259–260; Ibn-Akutya (1982) 61, note 1; Serjeant (1972) 167.

3 According to Ibn al-Faraḍī quoted by Ibn Ḥayyān ʿAbdal-Wāhid ibn Isḥāq al Ḍabbī al-Munajjim wrote an urjūza fī film al-nujūm. Al-Maqarri says he was 'the Ptolomey of his time, skilful and accurate': al-Maqqarī (1968) i, 334–335; Ibn Ḥayyān(1999) 172 verso.

4 *Wa-kasāhu*, 'then he clothed him', but we can take this to mean the presentation of a robe *de luxe*, robe of honour *(khilʿa)*, which in later years would have borne inscriptions made in the royal tiraz factory established by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, and would quite probably have been made there too: Von Falsach and Keblow Bernsted (1993) 17.

5 Al-Ḍabbī says that Zīyād ibn Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Zīyād al-Lakhmī called Shabaṭūn, *-faqīh ahl al-Andalus*—(d. 199 or 204/814 or 819) was the first to bring the doctrine *-fīqh*—of Mālik to al-Andalus, before which time they had followed the doctrine of al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774). Shabaṭūn had been a pupil of Ibn Qāsim (d. 191/817 who had been a pupil of Mālik, whose *collected fatwas* form the basis of the *Mudawanna al-kubrā* of Saḥnūn ibn Saʿīd (240/854–855). The Banū Zīyād of Cordova were from Málaga. But there were three *Banū Zīyād* families in alAndalus and the relations between them are still not clear. Fierro also suggests that Muʿāwīya ibn Zīyād al-Lakhmī—a judge of al-Mundhir (273–275/886–888) dismissed by ʿAbdallāh (275–300/888–912)—was from the Cordovan family: *History* 130, 133; Al-Dabbī (1997) no. 751; Fierro (1990) nos. 8, 21, 29.

6 It seems odd that Ibn al-Qūṭīya should have made this error. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I

acquired—by purchase or confiscation—the church of San Vicente, which had remained in the control of the Christian ecclesiastical authorities and built the first mosque on the site between 169/786 and 170/787. It was 73.50 m wide ×, 36.80 m deep and had a courtyard 73.50 m ×, 60 m. Gómez Moreno doubted this, believing that the length of time supposedly taken to be too short, despite there being no minaret, as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II took 16 years to do much less. But the Arab historians quoted by Cresswell are insistent: in 168/784–785 the church was purchased; in 169/785–786 the mosque was begun; in 170/786–787 the work was completed. Ocaña Jiménez suggested that the story of the division of the church and its purchase for a huge amount was a later legend designed to show the magnanimity of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān towards the Christians. See *History* 80, note 37. Excavations in the first half of the twentieth century by the cathedral architect, F.Hernández, between 1931 and 1936, uncovered the remains of a church under the western side of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's mosque, some of which can be seen today through an opening left in the cathedral floor. The small size of this building appeared to confirm Ocaña Jiménez's ideas, as division between Christians and Muslims would have given each community an area too inadequate for prayers. Hishām added a minaret in 177/793–794, built an ablution hall and made some interior changes. Although the minaret was rebuilt in the sixteenth century, a depiction of the earlier minaret occurs on a metal weight of *circa* 1492, now in the *Museo Arqueológico,* Cordova (inventory no. 7.591). Ibn al-Qūṭīya is correct with regard to the bridge, which Hishām ordered repaired. This had been damaged by a severe flood during the time of his father: Lévi-Provençal i, 147; Ibn ʿIdhārī (1951) ii, 230; Cresswell (1979) ii, 138–139, 140, 153, 155, fig. 147; Ocaña Jiménez (1998), 269 and note 29; 271, note 32. For a detailed plan of the mosque and all the extensions and additions: see Ewert (1995), figs. 4–5.

7 ʿAbd al-Wāḥid was a member of the Banū Mughīth. His son ʿAbd al-Karīm was chamberlain of al-Ḥakam (180–206/796–822): History 86. Hishām launched a campaign against Narbonne and Gerona in 177/793: Lévi-Provençal i, 145; Fierro (1990) no. 57.

8 Al-Muṣʿab ibn ʿImrān ibn Shafīʿ al-Ḥamdānī: al-Khushanī (1952), no. 84.

9. Abū ʿUmar Muʿāwīya ibn Abī Aḥmad ibn ʿUthmān al-Khaḍrī: al-Khushanī (1952) no. 16.

10 'Put a saw *(minshār)* on my head' refers to a method of execution, by being sawn in half from the head downwards. For an illustration of this in a Spanish (Catalan) painting, *circa* 1100 CE, showing the martyrdom of Santa Julita,: see Ainaud (1962), pl. 3. This barbaric method of execution was used in Morocco as late as the reign of Sultan Ismāʿīl (1082–1139/1672–1727): Milton (2004) 178.

11 Fierro (1990) no. 58. Ibn al-Qūṭīya actually gives more information on Muḥammad ibn Bashīr than Fierro quotes: *History* 83, 86, 91–92. There is also mention in the *History,* page 97, of Abū ʿUmar ibn Bashīr, a judge during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206–238/822–52). *Kātib* means 'clerk', but 'secretary' is probably a better term in the case of the clerk of a judge, minister or other official, where the clerk would have to do more than just work as a copyist.

5
The Reign of the Emir al-Ḥakam (180–206/796–822)1

Anecdotes concerning al-Ḥakam ibn Hishām:* Al-Ḥakam,—may God have mercy upon him—the son of Hishām, succeeded him. He treated his subjects well. He was careful in his choice of governors and officials. He believed in the righteous ways of doing things, and he prosecuted the Holy War regularly. At the beginning of his reign he appointed the finest and most just judge of al-Andalus, Muḥammad ibn Bashīr.2 In his youth Muḥammad had been secretary to al-'Abbās ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Marwānī, at Beja. He served under Hishām for a while, then journeyed to the East. He made the Pilgrimage and studied for a while under Mālik ibn Anas, then returned. Mus'ab al-Ḥamdānī asked him to be his secretary when he was chief judge (*qāḍī al-jund*) in Cordova.3 He remained as Musʿab's secretary until the latter died. The ministers recommended that he succeed Musʿab as and he served until he died. His son Saʿīd was appointed after him.4 He was also an excellent judge.

* * *

During all of al-Ḥakam's reign his affairs were in the hands of his chamberlain, ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Mughīth, a person of great intelligence and wisdom.

* * *

Al-Ḥakam was involved in three great conflicts.5 One of them was that of Toledo where the people were haughty, malevolent, and disdainful of his governors in a way that none of his other subjects were. Among the people of Toledo was Ghirbīb [ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Thaqafī] al-Ṭulayṭulī Poet, a clever and cunning man, to whose opinion the citizens paid heed.6 While Ghirbīb was alive, al-Ḥakam did not try to bring them to heel.

After his death al-Ḥakam summoned ʿAmrūs called the *Muwallad* the 'neoMuslim' from *Washqaẖ* [Huesca], who was the ancestor of the *Banū ʿAmrūs al-saydīyīn.*7 He conferred distinction on him, elevated him, and then when he had his confidence, he told him what

he planned to do to the people of Toledo. He said, 'My only hope of overcoming them is through you.' This was because the people of Toledo supported him because of the faction to which he belonged. So ʿAmrūs agreed to that, and al-Ḥakam made him governor of Toledo. Then he wrote to the people of Toledo to trick them, saying: 'I have selected one of your people and your kind from among our clients who will administer our province.' He outlined to ʿAmrūs something of what he hoped he would achieve among them. For example, he said, The people of Toledo will get on with you, and treat you as one of them, if you tell them in secret that they are preferred by you to the ruling Umayyad family and anyone else; and that you hate all others.[8] Tell them: I have seen one evil cause of friction between you and the Sultan's governors—the billeting of troops (*al-ḥasham*) among you and your wives and children. So, I propose to build a fort (*qaṣba*) in an outlying part of the city where the troops can be quartered. They will be isolated from you and you will be relieved of their mischief.'

But the citizens answered that the fort should be in the centre, not in an outlying area. They chose the hill, which is known as *Jabal ʿAmrūs* [The Hill of ʿAmrūs] to this very day.[9]

A palace (*qaṣr*) was built from the rubble excavated from a pit within the walls. Now, when he had gone there and garrisoned it, he informed al-Ḥakam of that. Al-Ḥakam ordered some of his generals (quwwād) on the Marches to announce an attack by a large force of the enemy, and to call for troops from the military contingents and volunteers.[10] Many people of Cordova and elsewhere volunteered. Al-Ḥakam sent his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who was only 14 years old, and three of his ministers on the expedition. Al-Ḥakam had already written a letter which he gave to one of his palace servants *(khalifa)* and told him to give it to his ministers when they reached Toledo.[11]

The army had encamped at a spot called *al-Jayyārīn* [the lime kilns] when the news arrived that the enemy had rereated. So ʿAmrūs announced to the people of Toledo, 'I must go out to see the prince—God preserve him—and you must do likewise.' They went out together and came to the prince who ordered that they should be brought to his presence. Whereupon he expressed a point of view so amiable that they were won over. At that time ʿAmrūs and the ministers conferred in secret. The letter was produced and read. In it they were told to advise the people of Toledo to summon the prince to the city, which would be a great honour for them and they could get to know him better. However, the prince should show reticence about entering Toledo until he had received their invitation. When he was invited, a feast (*ṣanīʿ*) should be prepared for the citizens in the palace where they would be feted, given fine clothes and treated well. Now, in al-Ḥakam's instructions to ʿAmrūs when the fort was being built,

was the order that it should have two entrances. People asked why, and prevaricated, but finally agreed.

The people invited the prince. At first he refused, but then accepted the invitation and entered the city and went to the headquarters. He ordered that the banquet be prepared for the next day and that the leading Toledans, from both town and country should attend. So they came and were told to enter by a designated door, while their mounts were led away to await them at the other door when they came out. But inside executioners (*sayyāfūn*) awaited them, swords ready, on the edge of the pit. All who entered were decapitated, some 5,300 and more. Prince ʿAbd al-Raḥmān witnessed all of this and acquired a nervous twitch of the eye until the day he died.[12]

* * *

It is said that a physician (*ḥakīm*) of Toledo passed by the second gate, but did not see anyone exiting as the day lengthened. So he said to those around the first door, 'Companions! Where are our companions who went in this morning?' 'Coming out of the other door', they replied. 'But I have met no one coming out!' cried the physician. Then he raised his eyes and saw the reek of blood in the air. 'People of Toledo!' he shouted, 'they are putting you to the sword! That is blood-reek in the air—not kitchen-smoke!' His cry caused people to take flight and saved those who were still alive.

They remained subservient throughout al-Ḥakam's reign and that of his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. But after the latter's death, they broke out in revolt, as we hope to relate at the appropriate point.[13]

* * *

In Algeciras the Dissenters made their appearance.[14] Their doctrines were similar to those of the Dissenters *(al-khawārij)* who revolted against the caliphs ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Muʿāwīya [41–60/661–680]—may God be good to them—and to those who came after them. ʿAbbās ibn Nāṣiḥ sent some verses to al-Ḥakam urging him to act against them and inciting him to oppose their innovations.[15] Included were the following lines:

> Catch the young camel which they are training for their revolt*
> before it arrives here as a grown one.

Al-Ḥakam retorted, 'By God, we shall do it!' He went out at the head of his troops to Algeciras and encamped at its gate, putting most of its inhabitants to the sword.[16]

* * *

Then there occurred the insurrection (*ḥādithat al-hayj*) in Cordova, which happened because a group of the city's notables opposed some things that alarmed them and they wanted to overthrow al-Ḥakam They

approached a nephew of his, known as *Ibn al-Shammās,* who was a son of al-Mundhir ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya.[17] They became deeply involved and wanted to enthrone him and depose al-Ḥakam.

He appeared to agree and asked them, 'Tell me who supports you in this?' They promised to tell him at an agreed time. Then Ibn al-Shammās went alone to al-Ḥakam and informed him of the plot. But he replied, 'By God! You want to turn me against the leading men of my country! You had better have proof, or you will die!' So Ibn al-Shammās said, 'Send me one of your trusted men on such-and-such a night' Al-Ḥakam sent his servant *(fatā)* Bizint, and his secretary Ibn al-Khaddā', who was the ancestor of the *Banū'l-Khaddā',* and he put them in a spot where they could hear what would take place between him and the plotters.[18] They arrived and discussed the matter. But he said, 'Who agrees with you in this?' 'So-and-so and so-and-so…' they replied. At the same time the secretary was writing the names down, seated behind a curtain. But they mentioned so many people, that the secretary got the wind up, thinking he would be named, so he caused the reed pen to scratch loudly on the parchment.[19] Then uproar broke out among the plotters, 'What have you done!' they cried, 'You enemy of God!'

Those who left at once and fled, escaped; but those who delayed were arrested. Among those who fled was the famous theologian ʿĪsā ibn Dīnār, and Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā and others. But six leading figures were arrested. Among them Yaḥyā ibn Naṣr [Muḍar] al-Yaḥṣubī from Secunda, Mūsā ibn Sālim al-Khawlānī and his son, were crucified.[20]

Because of that the inhabitants of the *Arrabal* suburb *(al-Rabaḍ)* of Cordova broke out in revolt [in 202/817], declaring war on al-Ḥakam.[21] Fighting continued between them and the military contingents until the rebels were outnumbered and called out that they would submit. But some of the ministers declared that their surrender should be rejected, while others said it should be accepted. Al-Ḥakam said, 'Well, there are bad ones and good ones among them,' and took the point of view of the ministers who wanted to spare them.

He granted permission for their departure from Cordova and they left for North Africa where they settled. A large group of them, some 15,000, separated and made for Alexandria by sea.

During the early reign of al-Rashīd [Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–193/786–809)] they seized Alexandria and savagely attacked its inhabitants, putting many to the sword. The cause of this was that a butcher hit one of the Cordovan Muslims in the face with a piece of tripe. They all took grave offence and killed many of the inhabitants. When al-Rashīd heard of this he sent Harthamah ibn Ayman [Aʿyan, (d. 200/816)] the chief minister *(al-ḥājib)* against them, to restore

order.[22] The city was ransomed for a vast sum. They were allowed to choose where they wanted go—any province of Egypt or any island in the Mediterranean. They chose the island of *Iqrīṭish* [Crete], where they stay, until this day.[23]

Some praiseworthy actions of al-Ḥakam*—may God have mercy on him: All of al-Andalus submitted to al-Ḥakam—all except the *Banū Qasī* on the Upper Marches, who continued their opposition.[24] The emir composed some verses about that, which his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān recited, and which include:

Take my weapon, for I have given it up to peaceful rest:*
But never to an opponent!

* * *

Al-Ḥakam also had a number of battles and glorious encounters in Galicia. Now, among those involved in the *Arrabal* uprising was Ṭālūt ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Maʿārifī, who transmitted the works of Mālik ibn Anas and his peers among scholars. When fighting broke out he fled from his home in the city, near the mosque and the pit (*ḥufra*), both named after him, and sought refuge with a Jew for a year, until matters quietened down and the tumult was over.[25] He had a friendly link with the minister Abū Bassām—the ancestor of the *Banū Bassām* grain merchants, so when he had stayed a long while with the Jew he approached Abū Bassām one day, in between the two evening prayers.[26] 'Where have you been?!' said the minister. 'Staying with one of the Jews,' he replied.[27]

Abū Bassām reassured him and gave him lodging. He said, 'The emir-may God preserve him—regrets what he did.' So he spent the night there and the next morning Abū Bassām went to al-Ḥakam's palace, after leaving a guard with Ṭālūt. When he came into al-Ḥakam's presence he said, 'How would you like a nice fat sheep today, which has been in a pen for a year?' He replied. 'Meat from caged animals is indigestible: wild game is lighter and sweeter.' But Abū Bassām said, 'That is not what I mean—I have got Ṭālūt with me!' 'Where did you capture him?' asked al-Ḥakam. 'He came to me because of the favours I have done him,' said Abū Bassām.

So the emir ordered him to be brought into his presence, and to be seated before him. The old man was brought in, in a state of great alarm. When he was in front of him, Ṭālūt said, 'Now al-Ḥakam, tell me: if your father and your son owned this palace, would they have treated you with more charity and honour than I? Have you ever asked for anything, for yourself or for some one else, without my hastening to do it? Did I not come quickly to see you, several times, when you were sick? When your wife died did I not come to you and walk in her

funeral procession from the *Arrabal;* and then escort you back to your home, walking with you? So what happened to you? For what reason could you only be happy to see my blood spilt, my womenfolk defiled and my wife dishonoured?!'

Ṭālūt replied, 'At this moment, I can do nothing better than admit that all that is true. I disagreed with you. God incited me against you. You have gained nothing from all you have done for me.' Al-Ḥakam considered this reply, then he said, 'By God! I searched for you, thinking that there was no torture on Earth I would not apply if I had you before me. But I tell you, that He for Whom you hated me causes me to forgive you. So: go safely in God's protection. I will not stop doing well by you and will consider you as I did bef ore, as lo ng a s I live, God willing! If only what happened had never occurred!' Ṭālūt replied, 'It would have been better for you, had it not'

Then the emir asked him, 'Where did Abū Bassām capture you?' 'No, never!' replied Ṭālūt. 'He did not: I gave myself up to him. I went to him because there was a bond between us.'

'So where have you been all this year?' asked al-Ḥakam. 'With one of the Jews,' he replied.

Al-Ḥakam turned to his minster. 'Abū Bassām,' he said, 'a Jew could appreciate Ṭālūt's faith and learning. He risked his life, his family's life and what he had, and what his children had to go against me, while you wanted to push me into what I have now repented of! Get out! I never want to see your face again!' Then he ordered the removal of his ministerial carpet-of-office *(firāsh)* and dismissal from his service.[28] From that day to this, his descendants have suffered ruin and decline. Ṭālūt continued to be honoured and protected as the emir had decreed until he died. Al-Ḥakam attended his funeral.

* * *

Following this, al-Ḥakam suffered an illness that afflicted him for seven years, at the end of which he died, contrite and repenting what he had done. The illness made him become very pious and he used to spend his nights reading the Qur'ān until his death.

* * *

Judayr [Ḥudayr], ancestor of the *Banū Ḥudayr*,[29] was a gate-keeper *(bawwāb)* at the *Bāb al-sudda* [the Barrage Gate] palace in Cordova at the time of the *Arrabal* uprising and charged with bringing those who had surrendered to the *Al-Duwayraẖ* prison.[30] Al-Ḥakam summoned him to his presence and said, 'After dark, take out the leaders of the trouble and order their execution and have the corpses crucified.' Ḥudayr replied,' Truly My Lord, I would hate for us to be one day in one of the Halls of Heaven, you whining to me, and I to you over what we have done! That would benefit neither you nor me.' But al-Ḥakam abused him and insisted that he carry out the orders.

Ḥudayr refused, so al-Ḥakam removed him from his post. Then he ordered his colleague Ibn Nādir the gate-keeper, to take his place and the death sentence was carried out. From that day the fortunes of the *Banū Ḥudayr* prospered while those of the *Banū Nādir* declined until the line was extinguished.[31]

* * *

It is related that Muḥammad ibn—Waḍḍāḥ may God have mercy on him-used to tell two anecdotes about al-Ḥakam.[32] One concerned Muḥammad ibn Bashīr, and the other related to foretelling the future.[33] When he finished relating them, he used to say, 'If only for these two stories, al-Ḥakam deserves to be in Paradise!'

[The first anecdote is as follows:] A certain person of distinction (*baʿḍ al-khāṣṣa*) related that a favourite concubine of al-Ḥakam said that one night he left her bed, and she thought the worst, as women do, when they are overcome by jealousy. 'I followed him,' she said, 'but found him prostrating himself and praying.' When he came back to me, I told him what I had been thinking, what I did, and that I found him praying. He said to me, 'I entrusted Muḥammad ibn Bashīr with the post of chief judge. I was happy with that and I trusted him. I was confident that he would deal justly with people's cases and misdeeds. I was happy—until this evening, when I learnt that he is seriously ill and will die. I was worried and upset, so I got up [tonight] and asked God to send me some one else to replace him, in whom I can trust and appoint as judge after him.'

* * *

The second anecdote is this: One day—al-Ḥakam may God have mercy on him-rode out for pleasure. He dismounted wanting to rest, and he sat down, then lay back and sighed. He looked towards a valley and said, 'On the Day of Judgement the Dissenters *(khawārij)* will come—I can almost see them now pouring out of this valley, killing people and enslaving children. I hope there will be an "al-Ḥakam" alive to be victorious and defend Islam.'

Notes

1 Abū'l-Āṣī al-Ḥakam I ibn Hishām I, born 154/770, emir 180/796 until his death, 25 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 206/21 May 822: EI 2nd iii, 73–74.

2 Muḥammad ibn Bashīr ibn Sharāḥīl al-Ma'ārifī: al-Khushanī (1952) no. 21.

3 *Qāḍī al-jund* 'judge of the contingents' was the title of the chief judge of Cordova and al-Andalus until the time of Muḥammad I (238–273/852–886), when the title was changed to *Qāḍī* al-jamā'a, 'judge of the community', who was directly responsible to the emir: Lévi-Provençal iii, 117–118. EI 2nd iv, 374.

4 Al-Khushanī (1952) no. 22.

5 Apart from the three mentioned in this part of the text, al-Ḥakam also captured Calahora and reached Santander in 181/797.

6 Ghirbīb ibn 'Abdallāh [al-Thaqafī]al-Ṭulayṭulī. Some of his poetry relating to Toledo is quoted by Ibn Ḥayyān. The head of the revolt in Toledo was 'Abdallāh ibn Ḥamīr (Ḥamīd?): Nichols (1975) 101, note 158; al-Dabbī (1997) no. 1281; Ibn Ḥayyān (1999) 2 verso 113 recto.

7 The neo-Muslims, or *Muwallads,* Spanish *Mualadies,* of whom 'Amrūs was one, were converts to Islam who came to comprise the largest element of the population in al-Andalus by the end of the fourth/tenth century. Huesca lies some 70 km north of Saragossa: EI 2nd xi, 159–160; Lévi-Provençal i, 73–77, notes 155–59; Fierro (1990), no. 22.

8 Fierro (1990) no. 34.

9 This citadel was begun in 176/792 and later destroyed; but was rebuilt in 223/838 by Walīd, brother of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II. It was rebuilt again by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in 320/932 after he recaptured the city following a revolt. It is probably this recapture that Ibn al-Qūṭīya mentions in the History 140: Cresswell (1979) ii, 206. See Menéndez Pidal (1996) 227, fig. 93 for a map of Toledo.

10 The Marches, around 740 CE, consisted of three fronts or frontiers between al-Andalus and the non-Muslim northern part of the peninsula: the Lower March: Mérida—Coria—León—Lugo; the Middle March: Toledo—Guadalajara-Medinaceli—Soria—Pamplona; the Upper March: Tudela—Zaragoza—Huesca-Barbastro—Gerona. The latter remained more-or-less intact until the beginning of the 7th/13th century, The 'troops of the military contingents' means those who came with Balj and were settled by Abū'l-Khaṭṭār in various

places: *History* 63; Cruz Hernández (1998) 80–81.

11 A *khalīfa,* plural *khulafā',* was an upper-ranking freed slave who worked in the royal palace. A lower-ranking freed slave was a *mawlā,* plural *mawālī.* A *ghulām,* plural *ghilmān,* was a slave of the ruler, while a *fatā,* plural *ftyān,* was an upper ranking slave. A *khuṣī*, plural *khiṣyān*, was a eunuch, though other varieties of slaves may also have been castrated, and the terms *fatā* and *khuṣī* appear to be interchangeable. *The fatā al-kabīr* was the chief eunuch or mayordomo. Fictitious Arab genealogies were often concocted for palace servants. They were frequently 'Slavs', *ṣaqāliba*, singular *ṣaqlibī* , which meant not only people of real Slav—Balkan, south Russian—origin, but any European, whether Galician, Calabrian, Lombard, Frank, etc.: Lévi-Provençal ii, 122–130.

12 The date of the massacre of *Waqī'at al-ḥufra*, 'The Day of the Fosse/Trench', is disputed. It took place in 181/797–798 or 191/806–807. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II was born in Toledo in 176/792 while his father, al-Ḥakam, was governor of the city. He was fourteen when the events related occurred, which would seem to indicate that 191/806–807 is correct. This is the date given by Ibn al-Athīr: EI 2nd x, 605; Fagnan (1924) 196, note 4.

13 Although Ibn al-Qūṭīya expresses his intention to refer to the revolt of Toledo in the reign of Muḥammad I (238–273/852–886), this is not mentioned in the text. Muḥammad defeated the Toledans at the Guazalete in 239/853. If it is an omission, then it is an indication that the received text is not the complete version: *Introduction* 17; EI 2nd x, 850.

14 The Dissenters or Kharijites were an extremist sect, who assassinated the fourth caliph, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalib in 40/661. They believed, among other things, that even a caliph could be deposed, and even assassinated.

15 ʿAbbās ibn Nāṣih was the judge of Algeciras, who was also a poet. See note ?.

16 Ibn al-Qūṭīya is the only historian to mention the existence of the Kharijite sect in Algeciras: Nichols (1975) 111, note 166.

17 Al-Mundhir was the third of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I's ten sons: Lévi-Provençal i, the table opposite p. 396.

18 The name could be Birnat (Bernardo) or Bizint (Vicente). Fierro suggests that Ibn al-Khaddā' may have been in league with the plotters and this is why later he made so much noise; to make them stop because he feared that his name would be mentioned: Fierro (1990) no. 23.

19 *Fa-ṣawwata bi'l-qalam fī'l-raqq*. In the third/ninth century there was, of course, no paper, only vellum *(raqq)* in the West. Paper had been introduced into the eastern Islamic World in the second half of the second/eighth century, but does not seem to have reached al-Andalus until the fourth/tenth century. Vellum continued to be used for all religious material until the sixth/twelfth century. In

the third/ninth century the pen used by Ibn al-Khadā'a would have been a reed. Metal pens were not used in the Maghreb until later. Ibn Zarqūn (Abū'l-Ḥusayn ibn Zarqūn *al-Faqīh*) quotes a poem improvised in Ceuta in the seventh/thirteenth century in praise of a gilded metal pen: Bloom (2001) 87; Al-Manūnī (1991) 32–33.

20 Lévi-Provençal i, 148, 163.

21 For the story of this revolt and the involvement of the *fuqahā',* see Lévi-Provençal i, 160–173; Monès (1998) 7–8.

22 The events actually took place several years after the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–193/786–809).

23 A dynasty was founded in Crete, lasting until 350/961, by Abū Ḥafs Umar al-Ballūṭī. This information must, therefore, have been supplied before that date: Lévi-Provençal i, 172. See Imamuddin (1961) Appendix A, 208–223 for a full account of Cordovan Muslim rule in Crete.

24 Four members of the troublesome *Banū Qasī* are mentioned in the *History:* Mūsā ibn Qasī (d. 205/820) 100; Mūsā ibn Mūsā (d. 248/862) 124; Lope ibn Mūsā, (d. *ca.* 258/872) 124–125; Muḥammad ibn Lope (d. 276/890) 129, note 60. The ancestor of the *Banū Qasī,* who was possibly called Cassius/Casio, was from an old Visigothic family who converted to Islam in the time of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (86–96/705–715). The widow of Mūsā ibn Qasī married Iñigo Aristo (d. 852) of Pamplona and his great-granddaughter Iñiga married the emir ʿAbdallāh, grandfather of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III around 290/903: see Lévi-Provençal i, opposite p. 388 for the genealogy of the *Banū Qasī* and the descendants of Iñigo Aristo: Fierro (1990) no. 30 and note 28.

25 For the Jews of al-Andalus before 961 CE, see Lévi-Provençal iii, 226–232.

26 Fierro (1990) no. 24.

27 Ibn al-Qūṭīya is one of the few Muslim authors to give information on the Jews of the peninsula during the periods of the Umayyad Emirate and Caliphate of al-Andalus.

28 Appendix iii.

29 Fierro (1990) no. 25. Other members of the family mentioned in the *History* are Mūsā ibn Ḥudayr, chief treasurer of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206–238/822–852): *History* 97, 99; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥudayr, minister of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300–350/912–961): *History* 140.

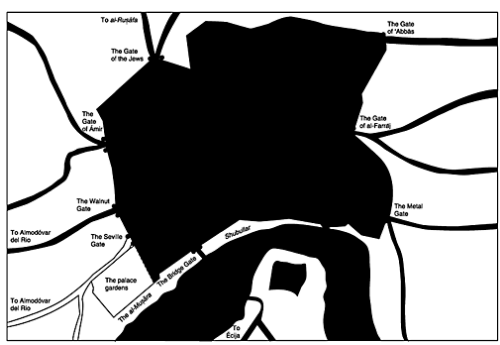
30 *Bāb al-sudda,* Spanish *Azuda.* The 'Barrage Gate', or the 'Gate of the Dam', was the main gate that led into the royal palace, the *al-qaṣr* (Spanish alcázar) of Cordova on the south. But the name *Bāb al-sudda* was used for the entire

complex of royal residences as well as administrative buildings, according to Ibn Ḥayyān. This is the first instance of its use in the *History.* The other gates were: west (or south), the *Bāb al-jinān;* east, the *Bāb al-jāmiʿ;* north, *Bāb Qurṭuba*—a postern gate; south Bāb al-wādī; also the *Bāb al-ṣināʿa*, which led into the workshop area: Lévi-Provençal i, 261, note 2; ii, 131 fig. 12; Menédez Pidal (1996); 180, note 76 and 232, fig. 99; Torres Balbas (1982 (iii)), 75–81); 1996; 592. See García Gómez (1965), 362–363 for the *Duwayra* prison.

31 Fierro (1990) no. 25; 48.

32 Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Bazīʿ ibn Waḍḍāḥ (199 or 202–286–7/814 or 817–900) was a teacher and 'reformist' scholar who was born in Cordova. For his attempts to oppose the sterile juridical manuals of his contemporaries, see Monès (1998) 14, 16–17. His grandfather, who was called *Bazīʿ*, was a slave. The text of his manumission document has been preserved. Another member of his family, the *Banū Bazīʿ*, was ʿAbdallāh ibn Ḥārith: *History,* 116; Fierro (1990), no. 60, note 66; Marín (1988) no. 1,352.

33 According to al-Khushanī (1952) 58, Ibn al-Qūṭīya related this anecdote on the authority of his teachers, Ibn Lubāba and Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Qūn of Seville.



Cordova in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries

6
The Reign of the Emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206–238/822–852)[1]

Then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān the son of al-Ḥakam—may God be good to them—ascended the throne. He lived a meretricious life, and under his regime, men of religious learning, men of letters and poets, were held in esteem. His subjects thought well of him. He undertook several campaigns, sometimes solely in command, at other times accompanied by his generals. He held Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā in the highest regard and revered him more than a dutiful son would revere a loving father.[2] He never appointed anyone judge without asking his opinion. Among those who were judges was Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad ibn Bashīr. He found him taking the place of his late father, and so confirmed him in office. There was also Muḥammad ibn Sharāḥīl al-Maʿāfirī, who was the ancestor of the *Banū Sharāḥīl* and after whom is named the mosque and the wall.[3] Plus: Abū ʿUmar ibn Bashīr, Faraj ibn Kanāna al-Shadhūnī and Yaḥyā ibn Muʿammar [ibn ʿImrān] al-Lāhānī al-Ishbīlī,—though ʿAbd al-Raḥmān dismissed the latter and replaced him with Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā.[4] He appointed al-Iswār [al-Aswār] ibn ʿUqba [ibn Ḥassān] al-Jayyānī and after him the ancestor of the *Banū [Abī] Ṣafwān al-Qurashī*.[5] But he dismissed him because of something said by a woman that he did not condemn. She said, 'Son of caliphs! Look after me as God has looked after you!' He did not condemn her for that, and it was brought to the emir's attention by Mūsā ibn Ḥudayr, the chief treasurer *(al-khāzin al-akbar),* who said, 'Someone who speaks in your name will be your associate in power.'[6] That was the cause of his removal from office. He was followed by Aḥmad ibn Ziyād (d. 205/820–821)—ancestor of the *Banū Ziyād*—then Yaḥyā [ibn Muʿammar ibn ʿImrān al-Lāhānī] al-Ishbīlī, again; then Yukhāmir ibn ʿUthmān al-Jayyānī but he asked permission to resign, so he granted it and appointed his brother Muʿādh.[7] Then Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān al-Ghāfiqī al-Ballūṭī became judge after him.[8]

* * *

Among the *literati (ahl al-adab),* the one who had the closest relationship with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II was ʿUbaydallāh ibn Qarlumān ibn Badr, The Immigrant' *(al-dākhil)*. One day *Ziryāb* [Abū'l-Hasan ʿAlī ibn Nāfiʿ] sang the following lines of al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf, in

ʿUbaydallāh's company:[9]

Said Ẓalūm, namesake of darkness*
Why do I see you as slim as a palm,
O you who shoot at my heart—aim well:*
you know the arrow's target.

But ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said, 'The first verse is not connected [to the second]! There should be another one between them to make sense'. So ʿUbaydallāh improvised:

Said Ẓalūm, namesake of darkness*
Why do I see you as slim as a palm?
I answered her, with tears dripping like pearls*
on a string,
O you who shoot at my heart—aim well:*
you know the arrow's target.

That pleased the emir and he rewarded ʿUbaydallāh with presents and a robe of honour.

* * *

Now, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Shamir was close to him too, because of their friendship when the emir was a child.[10]

* * *

It was said that one day he came into ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's presence after he had become ruler and Ibn al-Shamir had become close to him. He was wearing an Iraqi gown and an Iraqi mantle.[11] The emir joked, 'Ibn al-Shamir, have you put the Iraqi over the Iraqi? Where's the little cloak you used to wear when you came to me while I was a boy?' He replied, 'I made a saddle cloth and head cover with eye holes from it for your grey donkey!' As a boy, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān only rode a donkey, as he had an elder brother who hoped to become emir.[12]

* * *

We have been told that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had a nocturnal emission in the city of *Wādī al-Ḥijārah* [Guadalajara], while on a campaign [in 225/839–840]. He went to perform the ablutions for prayers, which being done, and while the servant (*waṣīf*) was drying his head, he called for Ibn al-Shamir and recited the following verse:

From Cordova, in the night came*
a noctural traveller, without the knower knowing it.

So he answered with a verse:

Welcome to the one*

who comes in the dark of night!

This excited ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and he was overcome with the desire to be with one of his favourite concubines, so he turned his command of the army over to his son al-Ḥakam and returned to Cordova.

* * *

Ibn al-Shamir composed [a *qaṣīda bāwīya*—a poem rhyming in *bā'*] representing the words of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān during the return journey]:[13]

When the morning sun comes up*
it recalls Ṭarūb
a girl of such beauty*
you could think her a wonderful gazelle.
And I am the son of the two Hishāms of Gāhlib*
I start wars and I end them.[14]

* * *

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II was the first to organise the visits of ministers to the palace and to give an opinion, which prevails until today. He had ministers, the like of whom no rulers had before or since. This was after ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Mughīth was chamberlain and secretary, as previously mentioned. Among these men were: ʿĪsā ibn Shuhayd, Yūsuf ibn Bukht, ʿAbdallāh ibn Umayyaẖ ibn Yazīd and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Rustam.[15]

* * *

Now, when ʿAbd al-Karīm died in the early days of the emir's reign, the ministers vied with one another to take the place of chamberlain, each insisting that only he should be appointed. This exasperated him, so he resolved not to appoint any of them. He ordered that lots should be drawn *(bi'l-iqrā')* by the treasurers to decide on one of them. At that time these were: Mūsā ibn Ḥudayr, chief treasurer, *(shaykh al-khuzzān)* Ibn Basīl, called *al-ghammāz,*[16] Ṭāhir ibn Abī Hārūn and Mahrān [Sufyān] ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, who was a Berber, without reputation, but who had known the emir while he was a boy. Sufyān was drawn and remained chamberlain for several years.[17] After his death ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ghānim succeeded him.[18] When he died the post was divided between ʿĪsā ibn Shuhayd and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Rustam, as we have related. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān died and ʿĪsā alone continued in the post, until the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, and ʿĪsā served his successor Muḥammad for around two years.

… He [the emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ordered that the Great Mosque of Cordova be enlarged, which was done, apart from a small part which was completed in the reign of Muḥammad.[19]

* * *

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān built the Great Mosque of Seville.[20] He also built the walls of that city, because of the seizure of Seville by the *Majūs* [the pagan Vikings] when they invaded, during his reign, in the year 230/844.[21] The inhabitants panicked and fled the city for Carmona and the hills nearby. None of the inhabitants of western al-Andalus attempted to resist the invaders, so volunteers were recruited from among the people of Cordova and its neighbouring provinces. Accompanied by some ministers they set off, together with volunteers recruited from the Marches who had assembled after the invaders had occupied the far western seaboard and the area around *al-Ushbūna* [Lisbon], in their first invasion.[22]

The ministers and their men established their camp at Carmona, but were not able to attack the enemy, because of their ferocious bravery, until the volunteers of the Marches arrived led by Mūsā ibn Qasī, who had been implored by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II to help. He reminded him of his client status with the former caliph al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik [86–96/705–715], and his ancestor's acceptance of Islam at his hands.[23] So Mūsā softened in his attitude, and came with a large army, which he kept separate from the ministers' men and the other troops of the Marches, after he had arrived at Carmona, and encamped next to them. Then those from the Marches asked the ministers about the movements of the enemy. They told them that they went out of Seville every day in raiding parties (*sarāyā*, singular *sarīya*), some towards *Firīsh* [Constantina], and Fuente de Cantos, others towards Cordova and Móron.[24] So they inquired after a place in which to ambush them near Seville and the village of *Kintush Muʿāfir* [Quirtas de Moafer], south of Seville was suggested.

The troops descended at the dead of night and hid themselves there. In the village was an ancient church and they sent a look-out up to its highest point with wood for a beacon fire. At dawn a party of the enemy, some sixteen thousand men appeared, some going in the direction of Móron.[25] When they got near the village the watchman signalled. The troops waited until the enemy had gone some distance, then they cut off their retreat, and put them all to the sword.

The ministers and their men entered Seville and found the governor besieged in the citadel. He came out to meet them, and the inhabitants returned. In addition to the group that was killed, another had gone towards Fuente de Cantos, another towards Cordova and yet another towards *Banī'l-Layth* [Benilaiz].[26] But when those of the enemy who were in the city became aware of the approach of the cavalry and the army, and the destruction of the group making for Móron, they fled to their boats and went up the river towards the fort of *al-Zaʿwāq,* and met up with their compatriots.[27] They embarked, and set off

downstream, with the troops shouting insults at them and firing stones and animal bones (?).[28] When they were some distance below Seville, the enemy called out to the troops, 'If you want to ransom the hostages we have, stop firing!' So they stopped and most of the hostages among their prisoners were ransomed. The enemy did not want gold or silver: rather food and clothing.

Thus they departed from Seville and made for *Nākūr* [Nuqūr] [in North Africa] where they captured the ancestor of the *Banū Ibn Ṣāliḥ*.[29] He was ransomed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, which is the reason for the influence that the Umayyads have with the *Banū [Ibn] Ṣāliḥ*. They devastated the coasts on both sides of the Mediterranean, until they reached Byzantine territory. On that expedition they reached Alexandria. The voyage took 14 years.[30]

* * *

The ministers advised the building of a wall around Seville, and the emir entrusted that to ʿAbdallāh ibn Sinān, from among the Syrian clients, who had been close to him while he was a boy, and after becoming ruler he had elevated him. He made the Pilgrimage to Makka, but his return coincided with the invasion and he was chosen to build the wall around Seville. His name is inscribed on the gateways of the city.[31]

* * *

During the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II there was a terrifying darkening-over of the sun.[32] People gathered together in the Great Mosque of Cordova where the judge Yaḥyā ibn Muʿammar led them in prayer. Never before or since, until our time, was a special prayer said against the darkening-over of the sun.

* * *

After the building of the Great Mosque of Seville was complete, Abd al-Raḥmān II had a dream in which he entered the building, to find the Prophet Muḥammad—peace and praises be upon him—lying in the prayer-niche, dead, and wrapped in a shroud. The dream caused him to awake in distress, so he asked those who interpreted dreams for an explanation. They told him, 'This is where his Faith will die.' Immediately after that the capture of the city by the Vikings occurred.

* * *

And related,* more than one of the elders of Seville how the Vikings set their arrows on fire and aimed them at the roof of the Great Mosque.[33] Whatever ignited fell to the ground, and the marks of those arrows can be seen in the roof until this day. When they failed to burn the mosque, they piled wood and straw mats (*ḥuṣur*) in one of the aisles and tried to get the fire to reach the ceiling.[34] Then a youth came from the direction of the prayer-niche and forced them out of the mosque, and held them off for three days until the attack on them took place.

According to the Vikings, he was a young man of great physical beauty.[35]

* * *

The emir made preparations to avoid a reoccurrence. He ordered the establishment of a shipyard (*dār ṣinā'a*) in Seville and the construction of ships. He got together sailors from the coasts of al-Andalus and enlisted them and paid them well. He made ready engines (catapults, *ālāt*) and *naptha*.[36] So when the Vikings came again [in the year 244/858], in the time of the emir Muḥammad, they were confronted at the mouth of the river of Seville and defeated, with some of their ships being burnt before they made off.[37]

* * *

Towards the end of al-Ḥakam's reign—may God have mercy on him - trouble was fomented in the vicinity of Móron by a man called Qa'nab, after whom the uprising was named. He caused trouble between the Arabs and the clients, between the Butr and the Barānīs Berbers, until an uprising broke out, which was suppressed by God's intervention at the beginning of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II's reign.[38] Qa'nab fled to Mérida and the neighbouring area and caused trouble between the Berbers and neo-Muslims, in which, with God's intervention, he was killed.

* * *

This spread to the valley of the *Tāju* [Tagus], south of Mérida and its neighbourhood, where Maḥmūd ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār and a sister of his called Jamlaḥ joined in the disturbance.[39] Jamlah was in favour of submission and surrendered, but Maḥmūd continued his opposition and insurrection until, with God's intervention, he died.[40]

* * *

Ziryāb came to 'Abd al-Raḥmān II after having been an intimate of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Amīn [193–198/809–813]. His successor, Al-Ma'mūn [198–201/813–833] reproached *Ziryāb* for certain things and after al-Amīn had been killed, *Ziryāb* fled to al-Andalus and there became the favourite of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II. He was welcomed because of his knowledge of literature, his anecdotes, and his musical ability.[41]

* * *

One of the things told of him:* Once he sang in a way so pleasing to the emir that he said, 'Tell the treasurers to give him 30,000 *dinars*!' So the dispatch master (*ṣāḥib al-rasā'il*) came with the order to the treasurers, who were the men previously mentioned in relation to the appointment of the chamberlain by drawing lots—apart from Sufyān, who had gone to that post.[42] The treasurers looked at one another for a while, then Mūsā ibn Ḥudayr, who was chief treasurer, said to the others, 'Well, speak up!' His companions replied, 'Whatever you say—we agree!' So Mūsā said to the dispatch master, 'Although we

are the treasurers of the emir—may God preserve him—we are also treasurers of the Muslim community, collecting their money and spending it in their interest. Never will we carry out this order! None of us wants to see written in his record on the Day of Judgement: *30,000 taken from the money of the Muslim community and given to a singer for the way he sang!* Let the emir pay him from his own purse!'

The official went back to the palace servant *(khalīfa)* who had issued the draft *(ṣakk)* and told him, 'The treasurers deny payment.' So the palace servant went to the emir and told him the same. *Ziryāb* said, 'What kind of obedience is this?!' But ʿAbd al-Raḥmān replied, 'This is *true* obedience, and I shall make them ministers because of it. They are right in what they say' Then he ordered that *Ziryāb* be paid from his own purse.

One of the things told about ʿAbd al-Raḥmān:* So many complaints were made against successive civil governors *(wulāt al-madīna)* of Cordova that he swore that he would never appoint another person from among the inhabitants of the capital.[43] He searched for some one suitable among his clients who were inhabitants of the provinces. One, Muḥammad ibn Sālim was brought to his notice, who—it was said—had made the Pilgrimage, and was a clever but modest man. So he sent for him and appointed him.

On the first day after his appointment, while riding to the palace, some one told him, 'A dead body has been found in a straw basket in the *al-Qaṣṣābīn* [Street or Quarter of the Butchers].[44] 'Let us be taken to it!' He replied. Now, when it was before him, he ordered that the body be exposed on the quay *(raṣīf)*, in case a passer-by might recognise the dead man.[45] Then he ordered that the basket be brought to him, and upon seeing that it was a new one, said, 'Let all in the straw trade *(ḥaṣṣārūn)* be brought to me—merchants and workers alike!'

When they were before him, he took the leaders aside and said, 'Are baskets and panniers all alike; or can you tell the work of individual makers apart?' They said, 'Yes, of course, you can tell them apart: and you can tell the work of those in the provinces from those of Cordova.'[46]

So he commanded that the basket be brought to them, and they told him, 'This is the work of so-and-so, who is in the group waiting here.' Muḥammad ordered that the man be brought to him, which was done. He showed him the basket and he said, 'Yes, this basket was bought from me yesterday by a servant *(fatā)* in royal uniform'; and he described him. Then the police and vendors said, 'This is the description of one of the *al-akhras* "the dumb ones" [those who do not speak Arabic] who lives at *Ruṣāfa*!'[47] They went off to search for him. Some of the clothes of the murdered man were found in his possession.

Now, when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān heard this, he ordered that Muḥammad be made a minister as well as civil governor; and when he entered the chamber of ministers *(bayt al-wuzarā')* all paid attention to his opinion.

Notes and comments

1 Abū'l-Muṭarrif ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II ibn al-Ḥakam I, born 176/792, emir 206/822 until his death, 3 *Rabīʿ* II 238/22 September 852. EI 2nd I, 82–83.

2 Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā exercised a strong influence on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II until he died in 234/849: Lévi-Provençal i, 275–276.

3 Fierro (1990) no. 27. 'The mosque and the wall [of Cordova]'. *Darb,* Spanish *adarve,* usually means a street. In al-Andalus it meant the area behind the battlements of a defensive wall, and perhaps a lane along the base of the wall. See Dozy i, 429: *l'espace qui règne dans le haut des murailles….*

4 Abū ʿUmar was another son of Muḥammad ibn Bashīr. presumably. For Al-Faraj ibn Kanāna ibn Nizār al-Kanānī and Yaḥyā ibn Muʿammar ibn ʿImrān al-Lahānī, see al-Khushanī (1952) nos. 23, 28. In his translation of al-Khushanī, *Historía de los Jueces de Córdoba,* Ribera gives the judge's name as *al- Ilhānī:* al-Joxani/Ribera (1914) 124.

5 The word *Abī* of *Banū [Abī] Ṣafwān al-Qurashī* is written in the margin of the Paris manuscript, folio 25 verso, in the hand of the scribe. Al-Aswār/Iswār is Abū ʿUqba al-Iswār ibn ʿUqba ibn Ḥassān al-Naṣrī al-Jayyānī. Ibn al-Qūṭīya does not give the name of his successor, but according to al-Khushanī he was Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Abbās ibn 'Īsā ibn al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān al-Qurashī, and as a his name indicates an Umayyad, descended from the fifth Umayyad caliph (64–86/685–705), which is why the woman called him: *Son* [descendant] *of caliphs:* al-Khushanī (1952) nos. 29, 31; Fierro (1990), no. 28.

6 The implication being that the judge, who allowed himself to be addressed as a member of the Umayyad caliphal family, could pose a potential threat to the legitimacy of the emir.

7 Aḥmad ibn Zīyād ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was the son Zīyād ibn'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Lakhmī called *Shabaṭūn*: al-Khushanī (1952) no. 37, See *History* 84, note 5. Fierro comments on the difficulty of establishing who belonged to the *Banū Zīyād.* The two brother judges, Yukhāmir and Muʿādh ibn ʿUthmān ibn Hassān al-Shaʿbānī, were members of the *Banū ʿUthmān al-Jayyānī:* al-Khushanī (1952) nos: 32, 34; Fierro (1990) nos. 29, 61.

8 Abū Khālid Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān ibn Ḥabīb al-Ghāfiqī. He was from the *Banū Ḥushayb*. Other members mentioned by Ibn al-Qūṭīya are Sulaymān ibn

Aswad: and Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān: *History* 130, 109; al-Khushanī (1952) no. 36; Fierro (1990) no. 62.

9 Note 41 below.

10 Ibn al-Shamir came from Cordova or Huesca: Terés (1959).

11 *Thawb,* gown; *ghafāra,* mantle or head-dress, hat. Yāqūt, quoted by Serjeant, says Basra in North Africa was famous for making the *ghafāra.* In the next sentence but one in the text of the *History* there is mentioned a *ghufayra,* short cloak or mantle: Serjeant (1972) 188, 202.

12 Out of respect and deference to the position of his older brother presumably, although ʿAbd al-Raḥmān seems to have been the eldest of al-Ḥakam's sons: Lévi-Provençal i, table opposite p. 396. The text is corrupt at this point.

13 Not in Ibn-Akutya (1982).

14 Ṭarūb, see Lévi-Provençal i, 267, 275–278; ii, 121; iii, 376.

15 ʿĪsā ibn Shuhayd was named chamberlain in 218/833.

16 *Ghammāz,* according to Lane, means 'one who blames others'. Apart from Ibn Basīl several other members of the *Banū Basīl* are mentioned in the *History:* Yūsuf ibn Basīl 114; Ḥamdūn ibn Basīl 1, 118; Ḥafṣ ibn Basīl 130; Marwān ibn ʿUbaydallāh ibn Basīl 134: Lane Bk. i, pt. vi, 2,294; Fierro (1990) 58 and notes 69–70.

17 Founder of the *Banū ʿAbd Rabbihi.* His name has been given as both Mahrān and Sufyān, but the latter seems to be correct. According to the *Muqtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān his *nisba* was al-Maṣmūdī. He was from *Bayyāna* (Baena), south-east of Cordova. One of the people mentioned as a suitable replacement for *Qawmis* ibn Antunīyān. Muḥammad ibn Sufyān may have been a relative: *History* 99, 115; Ibn Ḥayyān (1971), note 111; Fierro (1990) no. 64 and note 73.

18 Fierro (1990) no. 65. The founder of the *Banū Ghānim* according to Fierro, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was a client of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I (138–172/756–788). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ghānim was his descendant. His son al-Walīd served Muḥammad I (238–273/ 852–886) as minister and civil governor of Cordova: *History* 117, 118. Al-Walīd's son Muḥammad was the civil governor who provoked Ibn Ḥafṣūn: 121; Fierro (1990) note 75.

19 According to Ibn ʿIdhārī, quoted by Cresswell, the work was finished in 234/848. Ibn al-Athīr says his death in 238/852 prevented him from completing the decoration and adding some inscriptions. When al-Ḥakam II (350–366/961–974) made his elaborate additions to the Great Mosque, the outlay was considerable and the inhabitants of Cordova are said by Ibn ʿIdhārī to have protested. But the emir informed them that the expenses had been entirely covered by the legal fifth of captured booty allotted to the state; *as his*

predecessor ʿ*Abd al-Raḥmān II had done in his day.* Cruz Hernández makes an interesting point. The Great Mosque, even at its maximum moment of extent during the time of al-Manṣūr, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir (*defacto* ruler 368–392/978–1002) could never have contained all the adult male Muslim population of Cordova, who in any case were not obliged to attend the Friday prayers. The increased size of the mosque—according to the same author—rather indicates the increase in the population of court bureaucracy: Cresswell (1979) ii, 140–141; Cruz Hernández (1998) 74.

20 The Great Mosque of Seville founded by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II is the current church of el Salvador *(Iglesia del Salvador).* It was formerly called the *Jāmi*ʿ *Ibn* ʿ*Adabbas.* The oratory was completed in 214/829–830 and the foundation inscription survives in the *Museo Arqueológico* of Seville. According to this, the mosque was built by al-Qāḍī ʿUmar ibn ʿAdabbas at the command of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. There is another dedicatory inscription signed by the calligrapher/designer: *kataba* ʿ*Abd al-Barr ibn Hārūn,* now in the *Museo Arqueológico,* Seville, which seems to be the one mentioned by Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, and quoted by Lévi-Provençal. The building was excavated at the beginning of the present century. Until the construction of the Almohad mosque, the current cathedral, the *Jāmi*ʿ *Ibn* ʿ*Adabbas* was the main mosque of the city: Levi-Provençal (1931); 28 bis, 43, *appendice* 198 p1. xi; Torres Balbas (1982 (i)); Morales Martinéz (1995) 47.

21 *Majūs* was a term applied to those non-Muslims who came from areas where there was no acknowledged ecclesiastical authority and who had been accorded a second class protection pact. The term *Majūs* traditionally meant 'fire-worshippers' and was applied to the followers of Zoroaster: de Epalza (1998) 153; Jeffery (1938) 259–260.

22 The origin of these Viking raiders is unknown. Both Ireland and Denmark have been suggested. Both journeys were well within the capabilities of Viking seamanship. The size of the invading force was substantial, and the speed and mobility of their ships formidable. Some idea of the size of the force can be gauged from a similar raid which took place in 837 CE when a Viking force sailed up the rivers Liffey and Boyne on the east coast of Ireland. This consisted of 60 ships with around 3,000 men. The ships could carry between 30 and 50 men each. The text of the *History,* page 100, mentions the Umayyad attack on part of the disembarked Viking force, said to number 16.000 men. If this is correct such a number would have required 160 ships and probably twice as many for the entire force. If this seems exaggerated—and it probably is—we should nevertheless recall that the Norse–English fleet of Haralad Harada which invaded eastern England from Orkney in 1066 CE came in 100 ships, and that the Norman invasion fleet in the same year consisted of 400 ships carrying men and horses, plus supply vessels. However, the Norwegian and Norman ships had less distance to travel than the Viking invasion fleet of 230/844: Allen 1960; Lewis (1982) 93; Miles (2005) 196, 234.

23 Upon his conversion to Islam, Cassius/Casio (?) the Visigothic noble who was the ancestor of the *Banū Qasī* became a client of the caliph al-Walīd (86–96/705–715). According to Ibn Ḥazm (384–456/994–1064) he travelled to Syria and became a Muslima before al-Walīd, which is why he always took the

side of the Muḍarid Arabs: EI 2nd iv, 712–713.

24 According to Lévi-Provençal (1938) no. 129, *Firish* was north-west of Cordova. There was marble quarry there and an iron mine. It has been identified with modern Constantina.

25 The word for 'party' in this description is *yad,* which is used several times and must mean the same as *jamāʿa* (group, formation).

26 This place must have been associated with the the Arab tribe the *Banū Layth.* See *History* 81, note 50.

27 According to Dozy, Ibn Ḥayyān says that this place, which he calls *Raghwān,* was a castle up river from Seville. But Fagnan says it should be identified with Alcalá de Guadaira near Seville Dozy (1881) ii, 261, note 2; Fagnan (1924) 211, note 1.

28 See Ibn-Akutya (1982) 81, note 2 for 'animal bones'. *Nākūr,* Nuqūr, was a principality in North Africa. Only ruins of the town remain: Abun-Nasr (1971) 82, 89.

29 Ṣāliḥ ibn Manṣūr (d. 250/864). According to Dozy and Lévi-Provençal the attack took place in 244/858 and the hostages were ransomed by Muḥammad I (238–273/ 852–886), Dozy (1881) ii, 282; Lévi-Provençal i, 248; Fierro (1990) no. 31.

30 Of course the voyage of the Viking raiders across the Mediterranean and back could not have taken 14 years. They appeared again 14 years later in 244/858, when they were defeated by the navy established by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. Ibn al-Qūṭīya implies that the Vikings who came in 244/858 were the same as those of 230/844-presumably on their way back to wherever they had come from. The second Viking group probably had little connection with the earlier one.

31 *Wa-ismuhu ʿalā abwābiha,* 'and his name is on its gateways'. This means that commemorative lapidary inscriptions were carved from slabs of stone, probably white marble, and inserted into the gateways, above keystones of each arch. No trace of these remains. But there is an inscription on a column shaft from the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, in the *Museo Arqueológico*, Seville, which commemorates the building of the main mosque of the city. It also has the name of calligrapher who designed the inscription, see note 20 above, who may have been responsible for the inscriptions on the gates of Seville.

32 *Kasafat al-shams…kusūfan murʿiban…*'…there was a terrifying darkening-over of the sun.' This must have been a total eclipse, to have caused such panic. There were two such events during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. The first occurred on 27 *Shaʿbān* 218/17 September 833, and the second on 28 *Jumādā II* 225/5 May 840: Oppolzer (1887) 196. Both of these took place before the first Viking invasion of 230/844. In the text the eclipse is mentioned after the invasion. But because it occurred during the period when Yaḥyā ibn Muʿammar al-Laḥānī al-Ishbīlī was judge of Cordova, it must be that of 218/833,

since Yaḥyā was dismissed in the early years of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's reign. Al-Khushanī confirms this and says that the prayer began during the morning of 27 *Shaʿbān* 218. According to the *al-Muqtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān there are two conflicting accounts of this event. Al-Rāzī related that the prayer was said by Yaḥyā in the mosque of Abū ʿUthmān in the *Arrabal.* Ahmab ibn Khālid, one of Ibn al-Qūṭīya's masters, says that it took place in the Great Mosque: al-Khushanī (1952) 70–75; Ibn Ḥayyān (1999) 178 verso.

33 Who were these informants? Ibn al-Qūṭīya does not say, but as he may well have spent his childhood in Seville, where his father was judge until 300/913 and as he had family connections there, he would have had the occasion to hear stories of the Viking attack on the city, which was still almost within living memory at the beginning of the fourth/tenth century. Some of his teachers were from Seville, and one at least, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Qūn, is mentioned as a relater of *akhbār: History* 94, note 33. Among the informants he mentions at the beginning of the *History*, Muḥammad ibn Zakariyā' ibn al-Ṭanjīya al-Ishbīlī also came from Seville. He was a man of letters *(adīb)* and historian *(akhbārī),* and presumably knowledgeable on the events of 230/844. Ibn Ḥayyān quotes the historian al-Rāzī, who mentions a book on the Viking invasion: *Fī'l-fatḥ 'al 'l-Majūs*: Ibn Ḥayyān (1999) 186 verso. See *Introduction,* 34.

34 *Ḥuṣūr*, singular *haṣīr*, mats, made of straw by a *ḥaṣṣār*, which would have been found in abundance in the mosque to cover the floor for ritual prayers. According to Serjeant, al-Maqqarī, quoting Ibn Saʿīd (d. 673/1274), says Murcia was famous for the production of reed (or straw) mats, *ḥuṣūr*: Dozy i, 295; Serjeant (1972) 174.

35 *Fatā, ḥadath…bi-jamāl tāmm,* 'a youth…of great physical beauty'. This is probably a legend of local origin in Seville indicating that the invaders were repulsed by an angel. Perhaps the story has its basis in information given by Viking prisoners. Some Vikings remained in al-Andalus after having been captured in 230/844 and converted to Islam. See *History* 127, note 41.

36 *Ista'adda bi'l-ālāt wa'l-naft*: 'He made ready catapults and naptha'. It is not stated where these war engines were located. They could have been at the mouth, or along the banks, of the Gualdalquivir. They may have been sea-borne. Naptha was the famous incendiary, 'Greek Fire', which was particularly effective against wooden sailing ships.

37 Other precautions would certainly have included the building of coastal fortifications in the form of watch towers. Similar precautions were taken by the Christian kingdoms in the north-west of the peninsula. At Catoira in Galicia are two square fortified towers which were built—originally with five others—on the mouth of the Ulla on the Ria de Arousa by Alfonso III (866–910 CE) of Asturias, with the object of protecting Santiago de Compostella from attack by raiders from the Atlantic—whether Muslim or Viking. For a detailed account of Christian and Muslim attempts to repel the Vikings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, see Morales Romero (2004) 127–147.

38 The *Butr* and *Barānis* were the two main Berber groupings. According to al-

Iṣṭakhrī's *Masālik wa'l-mamālik:* 'The Berbers like the Arabs divided themselves into two opposing groups: *al-Butr,* comprising the *Luwāṭa*, *Nafza, Maydūma, Zanāta;* the *Barānis* comprising the *Kutāma,* the *Ṣinḥāja* and *Maṣmūda*: B.G.A. i, 44. For the areas of Berber settlement in al-Andalus, see Lévi-Provençal i, 71–89; Lévi-Provençal (1932) 18–39; Cruz Hernández (1998) 77.

39 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān besieged Mérida in 213/828 and 214/829, and finally conquered it in 218/833. In 220/835 he ordered ʿAbdallāh ibn Kulayb ibn Thaʿlaba to build a citadel, which still exists. Its founding inscription is one of the earliest surviving lapidary inscriptions from al-Andalus: Lévi-Provençal (1931) 50–53, p1. xi.

40 They were probably of neo-Muslim origin. Maḥmūd became an ally of Alfonso II, but had second thoughts and was captured and killed by Alfonso in 225/840. His sister Jamla became a Christian and married a Galician nobleman: Dozy 1881; EI 2nd 139; Lévi-Provençal i, 208–210.

41 Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Nāfiʿ called *Ziryāb* (d. 238/852) came to al-Andalus from Iraq in 207/822. He was musician and general arbiter of fashion in Cordova. According to Ibn Ḥayyān there was a book about him called *Kitāb akhbār Ziryāb*: EI 2nd xi, 516–517; Lévi-Provençal i, 269–272; Ibn Ḥayyān (1999) 148 recto.

42 During the Umayyad Caliphate of al-Andalus, the head of the chancery was called *ṣāḥib al-rasā'il:* Lévi-Provençal iii, 24.

43 For *ṣāḥib al-madīna,* known later in Spanish as the *zalmedina,* I have used 'civil governor', rather than 'magistrate'. Dozy gives *magistrat chargé du gouvernement civile d'une ville,* though his source is a seventh/thirteenth century one. Glick says 'town prefect'. The *ṣāḥib al-madīna* occupied the same position in al-Andalus as the *comes civitatis* in Roman and Visigothic Spain: Dozy i, 1819; Glick (1979); Vallvé (1998) 389.

44 *Shayra:* a straw basket made by a *ḥaṣṣār*, someone who made mats, see note 34 above, baskets, panniers, etc. from straw. The word *shayra* is derived from the Spanish/Portuguese word *sera/ceira,* meaning a large two-handled basket: Dozy i, 810. According to Pezzi however, quoting the *Vocabulísta Castellano Arabígo* (1798–1808) of de la Torre *shayra* (*ša'ira,* from š-y-r or š-w-r, *panera para guardar pan*) may have an Arabic origin: Pezzi (1989) 469 and 629.

45 Fagnan, referring to Ibn ʿIdhari, says that the street *(chausée)* where the corpse was exposed was probably near to the gate of the Royal Palace: Fagnan (1924): 215, note 1. The word used in the text *raṣīf* (Spanish Arrecife) meant the area between the palace wall and the river: Lévi-Provençal i, fig. 7; Torres Balbas (1982 (iii)) 75.

46 Although mediaeval artisans and artists rarely signed their work, as this informative passage shows it was not difficult for craftsmen to identify each other's work. Each trade was located in a specific street or area, as is still the

case in many Middle Eastern and Asian towns and cities. Artisans would have been familiar with each other's work and it would not have been difficult to tell apart the work of individual master craftsmen, their apprentices and—as the passage makes clear—country and urban workmanship.

47 *Akhras,* dumb. This name was applied to foreigners who did not speak Arabic. In particular it referred to the royal palace guard *al-khurs,* who were Christian mercenaries employed by al-Ḥakam. One of the reasons for the revolt of the *Arrabal* (*History* p 88) was the insolent attitude of these guards: Vallvé (1998) 394.

7
The Reign of the Emir Muḥammad (238–273/852–886)[1]

Some praiseworthy actions of the Emir Muḥammad:* Then reigned the emir Muḥammad—may God have mercy on him. He was one of the quiet and tranquil people, slow to move and reluctant to punish. He treated with deference his leading scholars, clients and soldiers, and was careful in his choice of provincial governors; until he appointed Hāshim [Abū Khālid Hāshim ibn ʿAbd al-'Azīz] as chamberlain, and all that was upset.[2] He gave up the system appointing venerable elderly men and instead chose young ones and divided what money they made from their position between them and himself. Governors were known as 'partners' (*munāfiṣūn*), and things went to rack and ruin, as we shall relate.

* * *

He confirmed Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān [al-Ghāfiqī al-Ballūṭī] as judge at Cordova, until his death. After him he appointed Muḥammad ibn Zīyād, who was a righteous, honourable man, similar to his predecessor.[3] But he asked to be released from the post and went on the Pilgrimage. He died in Egypt before he was able to undertake it. He was succeeded by ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdallāh, called *al-qubaʿa,* who was a highly intelligent and sensible man, who had been judge of Écija.[4] [His grandfather had been a freedman of some one from there.] However, he was dismissed due to an incident that occurred at one of his sessions. What happened was that a man called al-Quṣbī had been sent on a mission by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II to the king of the Franks [Charles the Bald (840–877 CE)], and to the Byzantine emperor.[5] He died leaving some 3,000 silver *dinars* and several orphans. The judge was charged with looking after the money and administering it. But, after being brought and given over to him, the money disappeared. Abū ʿAmr, the son of the judge, was accused of embezzling it, with the help of the clerk. Poets composed verses on this event, among them Mu'min ibn Saʿīd whose lines included:[6]

By my life! ʿAmr has been shamed by Abū ʿAmr.*
Some one like Abū ʿAmr descrediting his father.
ʿAmr glowed with his own light*
but Abū ʿAmr overshadowed him like the darkening of the full moon.

When the emir Muḥammad heard of this he was concerned and irritated by what had happened to the orphan's money, because of the relationship between him and their father, and his own father ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, before him. So he summoned the scholars *(ahl al-ʿilm)* and asked their advice. They all advised that the judge should take an oath, with the exception of Baqīy ibn Makhlad (202–276/817–889) who said, 'Now, this will give the Jews and Christians malicious joy, to see us making our judge swear an oath! He who is the guardian of our women's propriety, our endowments and orphans. I suggest to the emir—may God make him righteous—that he make good the loss from the public treasury *(bayt al-māl)*.'[7]

So he accepted that opinion and ordered removal of the judge. In his place he appointed Sulaymān ibn Aswad al-Ballūṭī, the cousin of Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān.[8]

* * *

The emir sent Aydūn, the palace servant *(khalīfa),* to Amr and asked him to take an oath secretly in his home, on the copy of the Qur'ān said to be in the hand of the caliph ʿUthmān [23–35/644–656]—may God be good to him.[9] After the servant had left, an elder came to him and ʿAmr recited the following verse:

You wake afraid and you sleep afraid*
Champ the bit and do nothing to them!

The elder said, 'What does that mean?' He replied, 'This eunuch *(fatā)* came to me and made me take an oath on the Qur'ān of ʿUthmān. By God I told the truth when I swore by the oath!' Then the emir compensated the orphans.

* * *

He sent ʿAmr as judge over Saragossa. He remained there for some years until he wrote to the emir asking for the restitution of his property to his family and son, and the estates he had left behind. He was ordered to return to Cordova, where Sulaymān was dismissed and he was made chief judge *(qāḍī al-jamāʿa)*. He was the first in Cordova to be appointed, as he was not from the military contingents *(al-jund),* though he was related to such men. Previously, such judges had been chosen from among the Arab military contingents. [The judges of Cordova used to be called *qāḍī al-jund*.] He remained judge until the

death of emir Muḥammad. [Then he died and Sulaymān ibn al-Aswad was reappointed.][10]

* * *

Now, Abd al-Raḥmān II extended the Great Mosque of Cordova, as we have related, but there remained a small part which was finished under Muḥammad.[11] He went there personally when it was completed and prayed in it. *Qawmis* [count Ibn Antunīyān] composed a poem which included the lines:

By my life! The Imam has given humbly.*
A Great Mosque has dawned for the world and the Faith.

* * *

The emir Muḥammad confirmed ʿĪsā ibn Shuhayd as chamberlain. The elders of al-Andalus did not differ in their opinion that no one served the Umayyads of al-Andalus more nobly and with more devotion. True, ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Mughīth, former chamberlain and secretary had these qualities, but he used to accept gifts and rewards for doing what was sought of him. ʿĪsā ibn Shuhayd did nothing like that: he paid no attention to those who sought his favour unless it was to honour them.

* * *

For example,* ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Iskandarānī arrived in al-Andalus.[12] He wished to be considered a clever person, and sought riches. He approached ʿĪsā with his request, while he was chamberlain of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. When he learnt of his intention, he told him, 'Forget wealth: do not mention it. You already have more than enough literary learning.' Then he introduced him to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, and favoured him until he became an intimate companion *(nadīm)*. ʿĪsā continued to help him until he became a minister and civil governor of Cordova.

* * *

Before ʿĪsā became chamberlain, during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, while he was an ordinary minister, he was sent to Seville to get the inhabitants to volunteer for the Holy War. The emirs especially entrusted ministers with recruiting volunteers. Now, it happened that his departure coincided with the illness of his secretary, and was reluctant to appoint another person from Cordova to accompany him on the campaign for fear of annoying his secretary. So when he got to Seville he met with some inhabitants and said, 'Recommend a young man who can be my secretary as I have left my regular one in Cordova, sick.' So they recommended a young man called Muhamad ibn Mūsā from *Kanīsat al-mā'* [literally The Church on the Water'], who was of an Arab family, the *Banū Mūsā*,

descended from Ghāfiq.[13] The *Banū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiqī* whose ancestor had been the governor of al-Andalus [112–114/730–732] claim descent from them and say that they *[Banū Mūsā]* are their clients.[14]

He took Mūsā as his secretary, and upon examining him, was pleased with what he found: he had achieved what he wanted. When he had no need of him any more in Seville he released him, with presents and a robe of honour. But the secretary said to him, 'I expect more than this. I would like to remain in your service.' So he accompanied him to Cordova, and the first post he was given was to be in charge of the public treasury *(khizānat al-māl)*. Then he was given guardianship *(wakāla)* of prince Muḥammad and achieved an elevated status with him. When Muḥammad became ruler, he made Mūsā a minister, and his brother Muʿammal a close companion. The latter was Abū ʿAbdallāh ibn Muʿammal, called *al-yamāma,* who was a well known man of letters *(adīb)*.[15]

* * *

Now, when Mūsā became a minister, he summoned the descendants of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiqī who possessed great wealth, from Mairena in the Aljarafe de Sevilla, and said, 'Now, you claim the title of *emir:* well if that were true and we knew it to be so, we would not deny it: so come and join us and consider us family. If we are your clients, as you claim, then we are your kinfolk, and if we are Arabs, then we are your cousins.' The descendants of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiqī responded favourably and thanked him and became family, and they intermarried one with another. So from that day on all pretensions ceased.

* * *

Ṭarūb, the mother of prince ʿAbdallāh, had great influence with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, and persuaded him to make ʿAbdallāh his successor, using the women of the palace, eunuchs *(fityān)* and servants *(khadam),* members of Quraysh and royal freedmen *(mawālī)* to achieve that. Now, Naṣr [Abū'l-Fatḥ Naṣr, the chief eunuch, *(al-fatā al-kabīr)*] disliked prince Muḥammad and favoured ʿAbdallāh, Ṭarūb's son, but towards the end of his life ʿAbd al-Raḥmān favoured his son Muḥammad.[16] That infuriated Naṣr and he wanted to murder his sovereign, so that ʿAbdallāh would be emir and Muḥammad would be killed. He sent for [Yūnus ibn Aḥmad] al-Ḥarrānī, the physician *(ṭabīb)* and said to him, 'What do you think about the correctness of my view?'[17] He replied, 'I shall be pleased to help you achieve it, if I am able.' 'Then take these 1,000 *dinars,*' he said, 'and make the ʿ king-killer.' *(bushūn al-mulūk)*.[18] The physician was not able to disobey, so he took the money and made the poison. But he spoke to Fakhr and told her of the matter, and warned her to be careful about

what the emir might drink.[19]

Naṣr told the emir to fast, in preparation for taking medicine, and showed it to him. He would have died from it the following day. But the emir ordered Naṣr to drink it, which he did. Then he hurried to his home and sent for al-Ḥarrānī and told him what had happened. The physician instructed him to drink goat's milk. It was brought to him rapidly but he died anyway.[20]

* * *

Now, when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II died suddenly, the senior eunuchs *(akābir al-fityān)* learned of his death and concealed the fact until the palace gates were closed and the early night prayers were called. Then all the senior and lesser eunuchs *(fityān)* were ordered to gather in the *Dār al-kāmil.*[21] The chief eunuchs then informed them, 'Comrades—something has happened. It affects the lesser ones among you as much as the important ones. May God console you for the death of our lord!' At once they began to lament. But the senior eunuchs cried, 'Enough! There will be time to weep soon. Let us take care of our own concerns—and those of the Muslim community before our own! When that is done, we can weep! Whom shall we support?'

They all cried, with one voice, 'Our lord, the son of our lady and benefactress, and patron!' But one of them, a palace servant *(fatā min al-khulafā')* called *Abū'l-Mufarrij,* who had undertaken the Pilgrimage, an honourable man, asked, 'Are you all of this opinion?' 'Yes!' they cried. 'Well, I am with you. I am grateful for the favour the noble lady has shown towards me over yourselves. But if this matter goes ahead, it will be the finish of our influence in al-Andalus! Not one of us will be able to walk along the street, or pass a gathering, without people saying, *God curse these officials! They were in control of our affairs: yet they appointed the worst man they knew, and ignored the best man they knew!* You all know ʿAbdallāh and his associates. Truly, if he gets any control of your affairs, and those of the Muslim community, he will surely make unfavourable changes for you and for the people; and God will ask why; and why you permitted it to happen?'

Now, this made a deep impression on them, so they said, 'Whom do you support, then?' He answered, 'The chaste and righteous Muḥammad.' But they said, 'Yes, he has these qualities, but he is a total skinflint!' To which he replied, 'How can he be generous to the eunuchs? Only when he is in charge and controls the state funds will he be generous!' So they said, 'We agree with you.'

He asked for a copy of the Qur'ān to be brought, and asked them to swear an oath upon it. Now, there were two eunuchs—*(khusīyān)* Saʿdūn and Qāsim—who had been totally against Muḥammad because of their liking for Ṭarūb. Saʿdūn said to the gathering, 'If you are all

resolved on this, throw yourselves before him and beg of him: pardon the fault of our comrade!' This they promised to do.

Now, Muḥammad had a young daughter of whom his father was fond and used to ask for her. So Saʿdūn the eunuch *(fatā)* left the palace by the *Bāb al-jinān* [Garden Gate] taking with him the keys of the Bridge Gate, which was opened to him. At that time ʿAbdallāh was carousing in his palace which was close by the Bridge Gate, opened for him [Saʿdūn].[22]

Saʿdūn found Muḥammad in the bath-house and asked permission to enter, which was given. Muḥammad came out of the bath and said, 'What brings you here Saʿdūn?' To which he replied, ['I have come to confirm you as ruler with our consent. Your father—may God have mercy on him—is dead! Here is his ring.'[23] Muḥammad replied, 'Saʿdūn][24]—show regard for me for fear of God! Do not let your enmity reach the point of bloodshed! Leave me! The world is wide open to me.' But Saʿdūn swore sincerely that he came with the full consent of the eunuchs, and that all were well disposed towards him; and that he had got their oath of allegiance to Muḥammad as emir *(wilāyat al-khilāfa)* and their support, upon the Qur'ān.[25] 'I would not have come,' he explained, 'without securing the agreement of my comrades to send me, so that I could dispel any anger you may have felt towards me previously' Muḥammad replied, 'God has already forgiven you,' and Saʿdūn submitted to him.

Then Muḥammad said, 'Give me time to consider this. I will send for my guardian Muḥammad ibn Mūsā'—who was mentioned earlier.[26] He summoned him and told him the news. But his guardian said, 'It is risky and dangerous! How can you pass the door of Ṭarūb's son, with all of his retainers and servants there in attendance?' 'Then what do you suggest?' asked Muḥammad. The agent replied, 'Let us contact Yūsuf ibn Basīl and get his retainers.' There were around three hundred of them. So the guardian went and gave him Muḥammad's message. But Yūsuf said, 'Abū ʿAbd al-Malik: look, this is awkward. We can only act in the name of the one who is in command of the palace!'

The guardian returned to Muḥammad and informed him, saying, 'Well, nothing ventured, nothing gained! Mount up and rely on God's help.' So he rode, disguised as a woman, with Saʿdūn in front of him, and his guardian walking at his stirrup. As they passed by ʿAbdallāh's palace there was music and dancing in progress, and Muḥammad recited:

> Enjoy what you are about!*
> What we are about will benefit us more!

At that moment, a group of ʿAbdallāh's retainers who were drinking

in the guardroom *(ghurfa ʿalā bāb al-dār),* heard activity outside, so one of them opened the door and saw the party passing by, and called out, 'Who are these people?!' But Saʿdūn reprimanded him, so he closed the door. The man and his companions assumed that it was Muḥammad's daughter.

They continued on to the royal palace and as they passed through the Bridge Gate on their way, and the lock had been removed. Muḥammad said to his guardian, 'Stay here until I send some one to help you secure it' They continued on. But when they reached the vestibule of the Garden Gate, the gatekeeper [ʿAbd al-Raʾūf] Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, came out and said to Saʿdūn, 'I see someone disguised as the princess who usually passes through here. By God! No one passes through here unless I know them!' But Saʿdūn exclaimed, 'Outrageous! Would you expose this woman?!' The gatekeeper retorted, 'I do not know who "this woman" is!' He ordered the emir to uncover himself. So Muḥammad uncovered his face and said, 'Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām: Show regard for me, for fear of God! I have come because of the death of my father—God rest him!' The gatekeeper answered, 'This maybe so, but by Great God!-you cannot pass until I know whether your father is alive or dead!' So the eunuch said to him, 'Go in and see!'

The gatekeeper closed the gate on Muḥammad and left him in the vestibule, while he went in with Saʿdūn the eunuch *(khalīfa)* and saw with his own eyes that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II was dead, and he wept and said a prayer and came out. He kissed Muḥammad's hand and said, 'Go in: may God reward you, and the Muslim community through you!'

Muḥammad went in, and that very night the oath of allegiance was made to him. He summoned the ministers, palace servants, notables of Quraysh and clients.

* * *

The next morning made his agent, Muḥammad ibn Mūsā, a minister, as well as ʿAbd al-Raʾūf ibn ʿAbd al-Salām—who was the ancestor of the *Banū ʿAbd al-Raʾuf*.[27]

The gatekeeper, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, had fled for his life, fearing that he would be punished. But when the emir learned of that he ordered that he should be reassured. He rewarded him and gave him a robe of honour because of his actions that night. 'Would that all the servants *(khadam)* were as loyal as he,' he said.

He confirmed the ministers who had served his father in their posts and appointed ʿAbdallāh ibn Umayyah ibn Yazīd as his secretary, which he was for around two years. Then an illness afflicted him for several years which made it impossible for him to travel on horseback. So the emir appointed Qawmis ibn Antunīyān al-Naṣrānī to assist ʿAbdallāh during those years.[28]

When ʿAbdallāh died the emir declared, ‘If only [the] count were a Muslim I would appoint him secretary to replace ʿAbdallāh!’ When the count heard that, he announced his conversion to Islam, and the emir made him secretary.[29] Now, the count, in addition to his eloquence in Arabic and his administrative ability, had a keen brain: but he was against Hāshim [ibn ʿAbd al-’Azīz], the minister and general, until the latter was infuriated.

* * *

The commander *(al-qāʾid),* Ibn Abī ʿAbda, related that he was sitting with Hāshim one day when Muḥammad ibn al-Kawthar came into his presence—he was one of the great orators (*bulaghāʾ,* sing. *balīgh*) of al-Andalus—and remarked, ʿAbū ʿAbdallāh, you know, it is one of the most extraordinary things, that one like you—a person of wealth, lineage and rank—has no position at court, while the head of the chancery (*ṣāḥib al-qalam al-ʿalā*) of the Umayyad regime, and holder of the supreme secretariat (*al-kitābat al-ʿuẓmā*) is the count, the Christian Ibn Antunīyān, who has abandoned his religion for that of God Most High.’[30]

This disturbed Hāshim, and he left and went home. He wrote to the emir saying, ‘Would it not be extraordinary if the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in the East learn that the Umayyads in the West have appointed to the post of supreme secretary, and highest civil official, the Christian count, the son of Antonian, son of Juliana, the Christian woman?! Would that I knew what stops you from appointing the best person: one who would bring credit to the royal service: one who should have it by the lustre of his heritage. I am more worthy—as is Ḥāmid al-Zajjālī,[31] or Ibn Murīn, or Muḥammad ibn Sufyān, or one of the commanders of the contingents *(rijāl al-ajnād)*—Aḍḥā ibn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf in Elvira,[32] or Ibn Abī Furayʿaḥ and Abū Jawshan in Rayya, or Ibn Asyad in Secunda, or Ḥajjāj ibn ʿUmar in Seville![33] These are the descendants of the beneficiaries of the Umayyad caliphs, from whom the royal service would benefit, rather than them benefiting from it. Choose whom you will for these are all suitable.

Now, when Muḥammad read the letter, he said to Aydūn [the eunuch], ‘Find out if Ḥāmid al-Zajjālī is present’ Aydūn found that he was and the emir said, ‘Let us go to *Rusāfa* and tell Ḥāmid to be at *Bāb al-jabal* [the Mountain Gate] of *Rusāfa* in the morning.’ So it was done.

Muḥammad left at dawn and descended from his horse at *Rusāfa* to rest until he made his morning prayers. The cavalry escort was in the charge of Hāshim as Muḥammad had ordered him to accompany the cavalcade. He waited at the Mountain Gate for the emir, and as he did so, his gaze fell on Ḥāmid, who was a friend. So he told a servant (*waṣīf*) ‘Go over to Abū Marwān and say that your master asks what has brought him here?’ Ḥāmid replied, ‘I have been ordered to be

at the villa this morning.'

Then Muḥammad came out and turned towards the mountain, saying, 'Let Ḥāmid be summoned!' He came forward and greeted the emir, and joined the procession. 'You have been recommended to me by many letters, the number of which surprise me. Tell me: do you know anything about the work of a secretary? [He said: I have studied writing. I served my father as secretary.' The emir asked, 'Who were the secretaries of the Prophet—peace and praises be upon him—and of his successors?' He told him and the emir was pleased.] Then he said to Ḥāmid, 'Return tomorrow. I have appointed you my secretary.'

To Aydūn he said, 'Send with him someone who will install him in the chancery' *(bayt al-kitāba).* Then he summoned Hāshim and said, 'We have decided to put the post of secretary back on the right path; so we have appointed Ḥāmid.' He replied jokingly, 'Together with the handsome qualities he brings.' But the emir retorted, 'Even though he is ugly, with a snub nose!' Hāshim replied, 'My Lord! He is most worthy.'

Then the emir went to *Rusāfa* and ordered that a letter be sent to Ḥāmid commanding him to write to ʿAbdallāh ibn Ḥārith, commander of the [Upper] March (*ṣāḥib al-thaghr*), with firmness and resolve, telling him to beware of the *Banū Qasī,* who were in rebellion in that area. Hāshim began the letter to Ḥāmid, *You have been given a challenge, which will examine your patience and your ability to handle the position you have been given. Ride home and get together with those who can help you.*

Ḥāmid went off and summoned those who were known for writing a good dispatch. He had several who were close friends and he told them what he had been ordered to do and charged them with composing a letter as if each one was the person issuing the order. This they did. Then he collected the copies and selected one of them. The next day he went to the palace and presented the letter, which met with approval, and he was awarded a minister's carpet-of-office.

On this matter, Mu'min ibn Saʿīd composed some verses:

> Which of Ḥāmid's affairs*
> was not strung like a string of pearls?

Most of Muḥammad's ministers were of outstanding intellect and honour; like ʿAbdallāh ibn Umayya, his father's minister and secretary; Walīd ibn Ghānim; Umayyah ibn ʿĪsā ibn Shuhayd. But towering above all was Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Ishbīlī. The emir used to alternate Umayya and Walīd as civil governor of Cordova because he knew their honourable qualities. They would never exact punishments in the capital, nor deal with major matters there, except according to the Law of God.

* * *

It was said:* Umayya was told that Hāshim had made a claim against a man in a house next to his. This was refuted, so he imprisoned the man in his own house. Umayya entered the ministerial offices and declared to his companions [including Hāshim], 'I have heard that some one has denied a neighbour entry to his own house and is keeping him prisoner. By God! If I find that this is true I will surely ride to the house, attack who is in it and destroy it!' Hāshim trembled on his carpet-of-office, when he heard this, and summoned his servant (*waṣīf*) saying, 'Fly and release the man imprisoned!'

* * *

It happened that a religious scholar fled from the governor of one of the provinces and came to Cordova. The governor wrote to the emir urging him to act against the man saying, 'He formented trouble among the troops (*ḥashd*) and I think it is only right that he should be sent to prison.' So the emir ordered Umayya to sentence him. But Umayya said to the palace servant *(khalīfa)* who brought the command, 'No, By God! I will never send a religious man to prison! The story is that the man fled from a tyrant, well known for his evil-doing. If he had any positive features, a man such as this would not have fled!' So the emir ordered that a letter be sent to the governor, reprimanding him for what he had done and compelling him to reinstate the man.

* * *

Umayya deputised for the emir when he went off on the campaign. He left one of his sons in the palace, and this young man had an arrogant guardian.[34] People complained to Umayya about him, and Umayya told the prince to reprimand him, and make him stop his arrogant behaviour. But the prince did not do that. So when the complaints against the man multiplied Umayya sent for the guardian and told him. The prince sent one of his servants *(fatā)* to Umayya who said, 'The prince says: *By God! If you do not leave my guardian alone, I shall come down with my men and shackle you!*' Umayya laughed out loud. At that time, if any one were to be seen laughing in the city, he would have been laughing about this matter—apart from another occasion, which we shall not mention. He said to the messenger, 'By God!—and there is no god but He! Since he has left the court (*sath*) where his father put him, I am surely going to throw him in the *Duwayra*ħ prison in manacles and he can stay there until his father returns, or the order comes to release him![35] Send me the two gatekeepers.' Then he ordered them to carry out what he had commanded. He continued to reprimand the guardian until he behaved.

* * *

The famine of 260/873–874 occurred while Walīd was civil governor of Cordova.[36] It was a year when not a seed was sown, nor harvested. Muḥammad summoned Walīd to his presence and asked him, 'What do you think we should do about the tithe?'[37] To which he replied, 'The tithe can only be collected on crops and harvest, but your subjects have neither grown nor harvested anything. Use your granaries and private money this year, and perhaps God will reward us next year.' But the emir persisted, so Walīd exclaimed, 'No, By God! I will not claim a single seed!'

News of this spread among the citizens, and what had occurred. Then Ḥamdūn ibn Basīl, called *al-ashhab,* 'Grey Head'—who was an oppressive, unjust man—spoke up. He solicited the post of civil governor guaranteeing the collection of the tithe, going so far as to tear the veils off women, lash people's backs, and hang them. People fled to take refuge in God, praised be He. So God caused him to be killed by surprise: caused him to die because of His anger. Now when the news reached Muḥammad, together with what the people had suffered at Ḥamdūn's hands, he summoned Walīd to his presence and begged his forgiveness, and asked him to take over as civil governor again, to put right what his predecessor, the dead man, had done wrong. But he said, 'No; I have become replaceable by one such as Ḥamdūn or his like. No, by God! I will never serve again as civil governor! So Muḥammad appointed someone else.

* * *

Towards the end of Muḥammad's reign trouble broke out. The first to rise up against him, west of Cordova, was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Marwān [ibn Yūnus] called *al-Jillīqī,* 'the Galician'. He was a former soldier, from the west of al-Andalus, and a neo-Muslim.[38]

Also in the west there was another uprising by a neo-Muslim called Saʿdūn [ibn Fatḥ] al-Surunbāqī, who was much admired by the other neo-Muslims, who used to say of him, 'He is surely *al-surūr al-bāqī,* 'Eternal Happiness'.[39] Now Ibn Marwān was unrivalled in intelligence, cunning and foresight, which he put to making trouble. He met up with al-Surunbāqī and they allied themselves with the polytheists (*al-shirk,* Christians), causing huge disturbances throughout [the domain of] Islam, which would take long to relate. They operated in the deserted areas of the Marches between [the domain of] Islam and the Christians.

* * *

The heir to the throne, prince al-Mundhir, led an expedition against him, accompanied by Hāshim, commander of the army *(qāʾid al-jaysh).* When they got near to the enemy they went headlong against them over rough terrain. But al-Mundhir was defeated and Hāshim

taken prisoner. Some 50 of the finest men, Arabs and clients, were killed. Hāshim was taken by the insurgents to Alfūnsh [Alfonso III (866–910) of Asturias] who ransomed him for 150,000 dinars.[40]

* * *

Then Ibn Marwān's fame was such that he became leader of the neo-Muslims in the west, with al-Surunbāqī as his subordinate. After the royal army retreated, he launched an attack with a great host, reaching the province of Seville and penetrating deep inside. He captured the fortress of *Ṭalyāṭa* [Tablada], with its garrison.[41] He advanced and attacked the province of Niebla and entered *Ushkūnuba* [Osconoba] where he established himself on a mountain called *Munt Shāqir* [Monte Sacro], and devasted the mountains of the west.[42]

Now, when the emir had become sorely tired of Ibn Marwān, he sent an intermediary *(amīn)* to him, who said, 'Listen! We are tired of you and you of us, so make known your plans.' He replied, 'My plan is to have *al-Basharnal* [San Cristobal] to build it up, extend it and populate it. I will pay allegiance, but will make no tribute nor abeyance, nor will you make any prohibitions.' This place, *al-Basharnal,* is opposite *Baṭalyaws* [Badajoz], with the river (*Wādī Āna* [Guadiana]) between.[43] It was agreed that Badajoz should be fortified as far as the river, to protect the party *(ḥizb)* of Islam, according to the conditions.

Ibn Marwān continued his allegiance until the time that Hāshim wanted to take revenge against him. Hāshim said to the emir Muḥammad, 'Ibn Marwān only had the advantage over us when he and his followers were on horseback, travelling from place to place. Now he lives in a town of houses and palaces, surrounded by orchards. Let us go and attack him! Truly, I beg God to help us overcome him! Let prince ʿAbdallāh come with me because Ibn Marwān was fond of him when he stayed in Cordova.'

So they made for Seville, and then Niebla. But when Ibn Marwān heard the news he realised, thanks to his intelligence and cleverness, what was going on. He wrote to the emir saying: *I have heard that Hāshim is on his way west. I have no doubt that he is intent on revenge, now that I am staying in a secure fort. Well, by God! if he comes past Niebla, I will put Badajoz to the torch! Then I will return to my previous tactics with you.*

When Muḥammad read his letter he ordered the prince to turn back, and Hāshim to turn back, from the route. So they returned.

* * *

In the province of *Rayya* ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣūn revolted at *Bubashtir* [Bobastro].[44] His father was a covert to Islam from among the non-Muslim community of al-Andalus. The reason for his revolt was that one of the *Banū Khālid* called *Dūankīr* who was the governor of

Rayya province caught him in some wicked business which he had begun, and beat him with a whip.[45] He went across the Straits of Gibraltar to *Tāhart* [Tiaret], and stayed with a tailor who was originally from *Rayya,* and worked for him.[46] One day while sitting at work in the tailor's shop an elder entered with a garment which he had torn. The tailor rose and got him a chair, on which the man sat. He heard Ibn Ḥafṣūn talking, but did not recognise him working for the tailor. He said to the tailor, 'Who is this?' 'A young man *(ghulām)* from among my neighbours, from *Rayya,*' he answered, 'who has come to work for me.' So the elder looked at Ibn Ḥafṣūn and asked him, 'When were you last in *Rayya*?' 'Some 40 days ago,' he answered. 'Do you know the mountain of Bobastro?', said the elder. 'That is where I come from, at its foot,' said Ibn Ḥafṣūn. 'Is there trouble there?' asked the man. 'No,' he replied. The man said, 'There will be' (?). Then he asked, 'Do you know someone from those parts called ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣūn?' At this Ibn Ḥafṣūn became alarmed. The man looked at him closely and recognised him, as Ibn Ḥafṣūn had a broken front tooth. 'Poor fellow!' he cried, 'You are fighting poverty with a needle! Go back to your country! You will defeat the Umayyads! They will meet ruin at your hands, and you will establish a great domain!' But Ibn Ḥafṣūn jumped up at once, fearing that people would start talking about this, and he would be seized by the *Banū Abī 'l-Yaqẓān* who were lords of Tiaret—and appointees of the Umayyads.[47] He took a couple of loaves from the baker, put them in the sleeve of his gown and left.

He went back to al-Andalus, but not to his father, who was angry with him. Instead he went to his uncle Muẓāhir, and told him what the elder had said to him. 'It could be so,' replied his uncle. So he gathered from his youthful cohorts some 40 men and they went to the mountain of Bobastro and seized it.

Then Lubb [Lope] ibn Mandarīl began his revolt in the mountain near Algeciras, together with another man called *Ibn Abī'l-Shuʿarā'*. But Hāshim went to them and pardoned them, and Ibn Ḥafṣūn too. He brought them to Cordova and enrolled them in the royal army.

That year Ibn Ḥafṣūn took part in a raid across the Marches with Hāshim, meeting the enemy at a place called *Funt Furb* [Font Forbo].[48] A great battle ensued in which Ibn Ḥafṣūn acquitted himself very well. Thus, he came to the attention of certain elders of the Marches, who sought him out, and having been told where he was, approached him, saying, 'Go back to your fortress which you surrendered. Only death should make you give it up! You can control a large part of al-Andalus and fight the government of Cordova on its own doorstep.'

In the course of the campaign Ibn Ḥafṣūn came to know Ṭarīf, known as *al-Walīdfān* …(?), who at that time was a servant of Marwā

n ibn Jahwar.[49] Ibn Ḥafṣūn withdrew from the campaign. At that time the civil governor of the capital was Muḥammad ibn Walīd ibn Ghānim, called *al-burʿānī*, who was estranged from Hāshim. He used to make objection to everything, to cause trouble for Hāshim among his associates and supporters. Ibn Ḥafṣūn went from one battle to another but the civil governor ordered the officials in charge of the granaries (*harrā'i,* plural *harrā'iyūn*) to give him the worst supplies, because he was an associate of Hāshim.

Aḥmad ibn Maslamaħ[50] related that Ibn Ḥafṣūn told him, 'I took some bread made from the grain and went to Ibn Ghānim the civil governor of the city and said, 'For God's sake! Can anyone live on this?' But he retorted, 'Who are you? You demon!' So I went off and met with Hāshim who was going towards the royal palace and informed him what had occurred. 'People do not know you,' he replied. 'Tell them who you are!' 'So,' he continued, 'I went to my cohorts and told them all of this. Then I left Cordova that very day and went to my uncle Muẓāhir and told him what had been said by this one and that'

* * *

Now, when Ibn Ḥafṣūn had surrendered Bobastro, Hāshim commanded the building of a post *(dār)* on the summit of the mountain, where he had installed the *ʿarīf* al-Ṭujībī.[51] Ibn Ḥafṣūn's uncle amassed a group of young men and added them to his nephew's men and together they forced al-Ṭujībī off the mountain. He took captive al-Ṭujībī's concubine, who was known as *al-Ṭujībīya* ('Tujībī's Woman') and who later became the mother of his son, Abū Sulaymān.

Now, Ibn Ḥafṣūn's power grew, and everyday became more dangerous, until he controlled all the territory from Algeciras to *Tudmīr*. Al-Tujībī, after his expulsion, fortified himself on the Rock of *Jawdhārish* [Ardales], west of Bobastro, and continued trying to force Ibn Ḥafṣūn off the mountain of Bobastro, until he—Ibn Ḥafṣūn—expelled him and appointed someone else in his place.[52]

* * *

Let us return to learn more about Umayya ibn Shuhayd:* for example, his visit one day to the quarters where hostages were confined *(dār al-rahā'in),* which was near the Bridge Gate in Cordova.[53] The young hostages of the *Banū Qasī* were reciting aloud the heroic odes of Anṭarah.[54] Ibn Shuhayd said to one of the guards, 'Bring their teacher *(mu'addib)* to me!'

When he had seated himself on the carpet-of-office of the civil governor of the city, the teacher was brought in and Ibn Shuhayd remarked, 'If it was not for the fact that I am going to excuse you for your ignorance, I would punish you severely! You have gone to demons who have sorely grieved the emirs and taught them poetry,

which will give them an insight into real courage! Stop doing it! Teach them only poems like the drinking songs of al-Ḥasan ibn Hāni'and similar humorous verses.'[55]

* * *

It is also told of him that one day, on his way to the royal palace, he passed by the jurist *(faqīh)* al-ʿAraj ibn Maṭrūḥ, who was prayer-leader *(ṣāḥib al-ṣalāh)* that day. When Ibn Shuhayd greeted him, he responded with contempt. When Ibn Shuhayd was told of this, he bided his time until the harvest and hay-cutting season arrived. Then he said to the tithe collector *(ʿāmil al-ʿushūr),* 'Tell the people of such-and-such a village to attack Ibn Maṭrūḥ's barn if he has gathered the harvest. Then let the collectors go to Cordova and demand the tithe from him.'

They did so and then brought him before Ibn Shuhayd when he couldn't pay. Ibn Maṭrūḥ came, calling the tithe-collectors 'Prophet-killers' [meaning Jews] all the way. When he arrived at the chamber *(ghurfa)* of the civil governor, Ibn Shuhayd, the latter brought him close and said,

> ʿAbū ʿAbdallāh; truly if it weren't for this "tyrant" before you, and his like, who have punished evil-doers and aggressors, you would have had your cloak stolen off your back on the way to the mosque—no matter that it is close by! You can see now that your neighbours in the country-side have no respect for your knowledge, your lineage—nor for your prayers on behalf of the believers. Most people are ready to do evil: only him whom God helps is ready to do good. Through me and those like me, God protects you and those like you!

Then the old man realised how what had befallen him had come about. So he exclaimed, 'I beg God's pardon—praised be He!—and I beg yours!' 'May God accept your contrition,' he replied. Then he told the tithe collector that not a seed should be exacted from him, and he replaced all that he had lost.

* * *

Some actions of the emir Muḥammad:* Among the noble deeds of the emir Muḥammad were his attacks across the Marches. A man who was a hat merchant *(qallāṣ)* in Cordova, called *Ibn al-Bāqir* said to him one day while on campaign, 'Emir, Lo! God Most Blessed and Most High, has told us *Those who were told, a great host has mustered against you: it frightened them. But this only added to their faith and they affirmed: "God is sufficient for us and an Excellent Guardian is He!" So they returned with the Grace of God and a great Bounty, having suffered no harm as they followed the pleasure of God…',* and

continued to the end of the verse (*Āl ʿImrān* iii, 173–174).[56]

So the emir retorted, 'God have mercy on you, old man! Truly, you have not contradicted what I think [about your wisdom]: but he who does not obey has no right to an opinion. I cannot prosecute the Holy War single-handed.' Then al-ʿUtbī, the *faqīh,* exclaimed, 'Truly I see great authority in what he has said. So ask God to send you inspiration today'

They left him and Muḥammad went and sought the help of God, praised be He, that day and that night. So God enlightened him in a dream, showing him the best method of attack and combat.

When morning broke he summoned the people of the Marches and said, 'If you are grateful to the [Umayyad] emirs—may God be good to them—for the benefits given you: and if you want me to reward you, then free me from this enemy! Form an army and drive them from the valley. Because, truly, suicide by falling on my sword, is preferable to me than that it should be said, *The enemy shouted at him from a mountain top, so he fled!*'

Now, prince al-Mundhir was loved by the common people, due to the good reputation he had among them, so they said to him, 'No, by God we shan't face the enemy directly: but order the commander of the host (*ṣāḥib al-ḥashm*) to postpone concealing the army and let the commanders of the military contingents *(umarāʾ al-ajnād)* do the same, so that they go before us. This was done and a great battle ensued. At midday God granted victory to the Muslim side. The others were defeated and were forced from the pass, and the surrounding area.

By the time the moment came for afternoon prayers, 30,000 heads were collected at the entrance to the emir's tent, and the muezzin ascended the pile and made the call to prayer.

* * *

There occurred* certain events at the beginning of Muḥammad's reign. There were some young men from the *Banūʾl-Salīm* living in the province of *Shadhūna,* and when the news of the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II reached them, they got drunk in the company of others like them, and went out and attacked the tax collector *(ʿāmil)* of the town in his residence *(dār al-imāra),* and stole some of the tax money *(jibāya).*[57] Then the elders and the more sensible members of the family, after hearing the news, went to the young men and recovered the money, which they restored to the official. But when the emir Muḥammad heard of this he sent men to arrest them and they were thrown in prison for 20 years or thereabouts.

Now, when they had spent many years incarcerated, they made friends with the gaolers (*ahl al-ḥabs*) who set fire to the prison during the night and they escaped. They were hunted down, and found in a

village of the province of *al-Qanbāniya* [the Campiña de Córdoba].[58] The one who took them was Muḥammad ibn Naṣr, commander of the host. He took them to Hāshim who put them all to the sword, save the prisoners of the *Banū'l-Salīm.* When they were brought to the royal palace, the emir Muḥammad commanded that they be executed.

* * *

ʿUbaydallāh ibn ʿAbd al-'Azīz, the brother of Hāshim, revolted against Muḥammad, supported by his followers, at *Jabal Ṭurrush* [the Mount of Torrox], in the province of Elvira. The minister Muḥammad ibn Umayya, was dispatched against them, and was ordered by the emir to execute them all. But the minister wrote back, begging to be excused from executing Hāshim's brother. So Aydūn, the eunuch was dispatched and he carried out the execution, bringing back the head, which was hung on the gate of the royal palace.

At that time Hāshim was away leading the troops in the Marches. When he received the news and the people of the army came to him he exclaimed, 'Did I not deserve—considering my sincerity in advising him and supporting him—that he would pardon the failing of my brother. By God!—I will never advise him again!' This was communicated to the emir Muḥammad, but he did not react.

Let us return to the rest of the story of Mūsā ibn Mūsā.*[59] He mobilised his men, but he was confronted by Irzāq ibn Muntīl, the ruler *(ṣāḥib)* of Guadalajara and the Marches, and who was a loyal subject of the emirs of Cordova, and the handsomest of men. When Mūsā approached, Irzāq came out to fight against him, so Mūsā said to him, 'Irzāq, I have not come here to fight you, but to take you as my son-in-law. I have a beautiful daughter; there is none more beautiful in al-Andalus, and I do not wish to marry her to anyone except the handsomest man of al-Andalus—and that is you!'

Irzāq accepted that proposal and the marriage was agreed, then Mūsā returned to his territory on the Marches, and sent Irzāq his bride. But when the emir Muḥammad heard of this, it caused him great agitation, and he knew he would lose control of the Lower March, as had occurred with the Middle March. He sent an intermediary to determine the loyalty of Irzāq, and what he was doing. When the man arrived Irzāq said, 'My loyalty or rebellion will be known soon.'

After the marriage was consummated, Irzāq left with a small group of his followers. He did not travel openly, and no one who knew him saw him, until he arrived at the Garden Gate of the royal palace. Then a clamour arose in the palace and the eunuchs *(al-fityān)* ran to the emir to tell him. He ordered that Irzāq be brought to him, and he upbraided him for his marriage to the daughter of his enemy. Then Irzāq explained the situation to the emir, saying, 'How could it harm you if your friend *(walīy)* married the daughter of your enemy? If, through

this marriage I can get Mūsā to swear loyalty to you, I will do it: if not I will be among those who fight against him as your loyal subjects.' So Muḥammad entertained him for several days, and bestowed gifts and robes of honour upon him. Then he departed.

Now, when Mūsā got to hear of this he mobilised his men and descended on Guadalajara and besieged Irzāq in his citadel overlooking the river, where he stayed with his head on the bosom of his bride, while his people ran hither and thither among the vineyards and orchards. They were attacked by Mūsā and his men, and forced into the river.

The woman was proud of her father, and awakened Irzāq, saying, 'Look at what that lion is doing!' 'You seem to be prouder of your father than you are of me!' cried Irzāq. 'Do you think him braver than I?! In no manner!' Then he took up his coat of mail and threw it on; and went out and engaged Mūsā in combat.

Now, Irzāq could throw the lance with unerring aim. He hit him with an unexpected blow. Mūsā knew he was done for and he retreated, but died before he had reached *Tuṭīla* [Tudela].

His son Lope ibn Mūsā assumed command, and that continued until 312/924, the twelfth year of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad [300–350/912–961]—may God be good to him—when he removed them from the Marches and [Abū] Yaḥyā ibn *(sic)* Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tujībī took control of the area.[60] Their story will be told at the appropriate spot—God willing.[61]

Notes and comments

1 Muḥammad I ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, born 207/823, emir 238/852 until his death 28 Ṣafar 273/4 August 886: EI 2nd x, 580.

2 Fierro (1990) no. 44. Hāshim was descended from a client of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān (23–35/644–651). He settled in Loja and died in 273/886. His descendants are mentioned in the *History*: ʿUbaydallāh, his brother, 123; Muṭarrif ibn Abī'l-Rabīʿ, his son-in-law, 130; Aḥmad, his son, 133. His family and the *Banū Khālid* became related. Hāshim played a dominant role during the reign of Muḥammad I (238–273/852–866), but he was executed by al-Mundhir, Muḥammad's successor: Lévi-Provençal i, 270, note 1; 187, 306.

3 Muḥammad ibn Zīyād ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: al-Khushanī (1952) no. 35.

4 ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Layth. For the meaning of *qubaʿa, -casque, alouette huspée* and *qabaʾa-bonnet pointu:* see Dozy below. But according to Ibn al-Faraḍī, he was called this because he was short and dumpy (*daḥdāḥ, qaṣīr*). ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdallāh was not an Arab, and Muḥammad was the first emir to appoint a non-Arab as chief judge. He was descended from a freed slave *(muʿtaq)*—perhaps his grandfather Labib, who had been manumitted by the person from Écija—and a daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. He died in 273/887: Dozy ii, 303; Wehr, 272; al-Khushanī (1952) no. 38; Ibn al-Faraḍī (1954) i, no. 938; Fierro (1990) no. 72 and note 118; Marín (1988) no. 970.

5 Fierro (1990) no. 73; 67. In 847 CE ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Charles the Bald concluded a non-aggression treaty. Lévi-Provençal thought that the mission of al-Quṣbī was to do with this treaty: Lévi-Provençal i, 212.

6 The poem appears again with an additional verse in al-Khushanī (1952) 121. This event occurred in 263/876–877.

7 Baqīy ibn Makhlad was a jurist who travelled to the East and returned with methods of interpretation, similar to those espoused by Muḥammad ibn Waḍḍāḥ: see 94, n. 32 which were regarded with suspicion by most jurists of Cordova, but he was protected from charges of heresy by Muḥammad I: Monès (1998) 17–19; Idris (1998) 9. He was descended from a client who was a woman from Jaén: Lévi-Provençal i, 288–289; Marín (1988) no. 315.

8 Sulaymān ibn Aswad ibn Yaʿīsh al-Ghāfiqī: Al-Khushanī (1952) no. 39. Did Baqīy recommend dismissal or did Muḥammad decide to do this? The text is unclear. Once dismissed why was it necessary for ʿAmr to swear an oath of

his innocence?

9 Appendix iv.

10 These two sentences in the Paris manuscript, folio 31 recto, given here in parenthesis, are not in any printed edition.

11 In 241/855–856 Muḥammad added 25 Our'ānic inscriptions to the mosque, almost half of which came from Al ʿImrān iii, and more decoration. Cresswell says he restored some of the inscriptions and improved the decoration. He added a new frame and decoration, also dated 241/855–856 to the *Puerta San Estebán.* He also built the *maqṣūra,* which was finished 250/864–865. There is another account, which says that Muḥammad had to overhaul the entire building because it had been put up too hurriedly by his father. His successor al-Mundhir built a treasury in 273–275/866–888 and restored part of the roof. ʿAbdallāh added a *sābāṭ* (arcade) which connected the *maqṣūra* to the royal palace, probably through the *Puerta San Miguel.* The latter must have been in the form of a bridge, as occurred later at the mosque of *Madīnat al-zahrā':* Lévi-Provençal (1931), 1, pl. 1; Cresswell (1979) ii, 140–141, 206; Torres Balbas ((1982) (ii)); Dodd and Khairallah (1981) ii, 215.

12 He became a general of Abd al-Raḥmān II, fighting against the Franks and the Vikings in the invasion of 230/844: Lévi- Provençal i, 206, 212, 223.

13 When established in Cordova the *Banū Mūsā* became known as the *Banū 'l-Wazīr,* as Muḥammad ibn Mūsā became the *vizīr* (minister) of Muḥammad I (238–273/ 852–886) after helping him to ascend the throne: *History* 115; Fierro (1990) no. 41 and note 33.

14 See note 13 above.

15 See Dozy ii, 854; ʿAbdallāh ibn Muʿammal al-Yamāma al-Nadīm, *History* 112, and ʿAbdallāh ibn Muʿammal/ Mu'min al-Nadīm al-Yamāma—presumably the same person—is transmitter of an anecdote about two sons of Muḥammad I: *History* 141: Fierro (1990) no. 33.

16 Abū'l-Fatḥ Naṣr was the son of a Christian convert from Carmona and exercised much influence at court: Lévi-Provençal i, 223, 224, 225, 229, 262, 265, 275, 276, 277; iii, 133.

17 He was a native of Ḥarrān [Harran] in Syria and had only recently arrived in Cordova. The murder attempt occurred in 236/850: Lévi-Provençal i, 277; iii, 507.

18 In the text the word given is *bushūn.* Although al-Abyārī queries this, it seems to be correct. Nichols suggests that it is from the Latin *potio-onis,* (potion) the origin of the Spanish *ponzoño.* In his dictionary Lewis gives '*potio-onis:* in particular, any poisonous draught': Lewis (1879) 1, 408; Corominas (1954) iii, 848; Nichols (1975) 171, note 246; Ibn-Akutiya (1982) 91, note 2.

19 Fakhr: Lévi-Provençal i, 267, 277.

20 Ibn al-Shamir composed a poem on the death of Naṣr: Terés (1959), 461–462.

21 The *Dār al-kāmil* was one of the pavilions/apartments of the Bāb *al-ṣudda* palace, and probably the principal one. It was later called the *Majlis al-kāmil* and retained this name until 353/964. It was here that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III was proclaimed emir in 300/912. The implication of the conversation between Muḥammad and Saʿdūn is that Muḥammad thought that eunuch was trying to trick him into declaring himself heir before his father was dead: Lévi-Provençal ii, 132.

22 Lévi-Provençal iii, fig 12.

23 His ring or his seal *(khatam),* probably one and the same. This was the supreme symbol of office. The seal/signet ring inscription was often repeated on banners and *tiraz* fabrics: Lévi-Provençal iii, 15.

24 This section in parenthesis is given in the margin of the Paris manuscript folio 33 verso, in the hand of the scribe. It is not given in Abenalcotia/Ribera (1926), but does occur in the Madrid manuscript, MS 4496, folio 22 recto.

25 'Accession to the caliphate', though there was no Umayyad Caliphate in Spain yet. The term *khilāfa* not *imāra* is used because the text was related/written down after ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III was proclaimed caliph in 316/929. *Khalīfa* is used for *amīr* at several points in the text.

26 *Wakīl* seems to have several meanings. According to Dozy ii, 838, it was someone who looked after the monarch's finances, but from the context of the text it also meant, tutor, guardian and agent or *aide*/assistant.

27 Fierro (1990), no. 32. [ʿAbd al-Raʾūf] Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām was the conscientious *bawwāb* at the royal palace on the night of Muḥammad's accession: *History* 114.

28 Although *Qawmis* was later removed from office, the emirs always had both Christian and Jewish servants and officials: Lévi-Provençal i, 290–291.

29 For the Christians of al-Andalus, see Lévi-Provençal iii, 214–226; Chrystis (2002).

30 In his edition al-Abyārī gives *al-mushtakkī* instead of *al-muttakī,* given by al-Ṭabbāʿ and Ribera (*que ha fingido de su religion,* 'who has faked his (new) religion'): Abenelcotía/Ribera (1926) 83; Ibn a-Qūṭīya (1957) 102; Ibn-Akutya (1982) 96.

31 Founder of the *Banū Ḥāmid* al-Zajjālī. They were a Berber family. Ḥāmid's

brother ʿAbdallāh was secretary and minister to ʿAbdallāh (275–300/888–912): *History* 133, Fierro (1990) no. 66; Ibn Ḥayyān (1971) 171, note 136.

32 Descendant of the Qaḥṭānid who supported ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I (138–172/756–788) and founded the *Banū Aḍḥā al-Ḥamadānīyūn* of Elvira: Fierro (1990) no. 9. See *History* 78, note 11.

33 A member of the *Banū Ḥajjāj* of Seville. He was descended from Ḥabīb ibn ʿUmayr the son of Sāra al-Qūṭīya and her second Arab husband. Other family members in the *History* are Ibrahīm ibn Hajjāj 115, 136, 137; Muḥammad ibn Hajjāj 137 and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ibrahīm ibn Hajjāj 137: Fierro (1990) no. 3.

34 *Al-saṭḥ* 'court', but actually a terrace or flat roof (Spanish azotea). Ribera says the prince was confined to *un departamento,* 'a suite of rooms'. It is mentioned again in the *History* as the place where Ibn Ḥafṣūn's nephew, who was held hostage by ʿAbdallāh, was executed: *History* 137. According to Dozy *azotea* means: *solar de casa, suelo de ladrillos,* 'a floor of bricks': Dozy ii, 651; Abenalcotía/Ribera (1926) 71.

35 'I am surely going to throw him in the *Duwayra* prison' …*fi kalbayn, yakūn bi-himā ḥattā*…Nichols says 'with two dogs for company' But *kalbayn* must mean two manacles, because *kalblkalbayn* can mean a metal hook, strap or leather thong. Fagnan says *avec des chaînes aux pieds:* Lane Bk. i, pt 7, 2,626; Fagnan (1924) 229; Nichols (1975) 193; Calero and Martinéz (1995) 210.

Alternatively, it may be a textual corruption for *kabl* plural *kabūl:* leg iron, shackle, fetter from the verb kabala: Wehr, 812.

36 For this famine, and another some years earlier, see Lévi-Provençal i, 285.

37 *Al-ʿushr,* plural ʿushūr, was a tax on land and produce. Scholars differed on when and why it should be levied: EI 2nd x, 917–919.

38 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Marwān al-Jillīqī was from a neo-Muslim family of north Portugal, which was established in Mérida. His father Marwān ibn Yūnus had been governor of Mérida under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. He revolted in 254/868 and eventually maintained his independence from Cordova. All the emirs down to ʿAbdallāh were compelled to acknowledge his independent domain around Badajoz. He had two sons, Muḥammad and Marwān. A descendant. Ibn Marwān is mentioned in the *History* page 140, as a rebel in the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300–350/912–961), who must have been the grandson of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jillīqī: Lévi-Provençal i, 295–299; Imamuddin (1961) 74; Nichols (1975) 197, note 277; Fierro (1990) no. 67 and notes 79–80.

39 Saʿdūn ibn Fatḥ al-Surunbāqī was also active in the area south of Badajoz, as well as Coimbra and Santarem until he was captured by Alfonso III of Asturias and executed: Lévi-Provençal i, 297, 311; Nichols (1975) 197, note 278.

40 Hāshim was a prisoner of Alfonso III for two years, 262–264/876–878; Lévi-Provençal i, 297.

41 The attack on Tablada was in 276/889 at the instigation of Kurayb ibn Khald ūn of Seville. It was south of Seville on the Guadalquivir and had been attacked by the Vikings forty-five years earlier. The survivors of the Vikings who were defeated there surrendered and became Muslims, settling in the Lower Guadalquivir area and devoting themselves to dairy farming, especially cheese production: Lévi-Provençal i, 224.

42 Nichols dates this to 271/884. Fangan quoting Ibn ʿIdhārī suggests that *Munt Shāqir* may be synonymous with *Munt Shalūṭ*, a fortress to the south of Badajoz. It was occupied briefly by Hāshim ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in his disastrous campaign against the neo-Muslim rebels, but when he was wounded, surrounded and captured by al-Surunbāqī he was imprisoned there: Fagnan (1924) 232, note 1; ʿInān (1962) i, 305–306; Nichols (1975) 199, note 281.

43 *Al-Basharnal/Busharnal:* Fagnan suggests that this was probably San Cristobal which is opposite Badajoz on the other side of the Rio Guadiana. Richard Ford, author of the earliest and best guides to Spain, describes this location as 'the fortified height of San Cristobal, which commands a fine view of Badajoz'. According to al-Bakrī, Badajoz was built by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jillīqī after he had sworn allegiance to Muḥammad I, who sent him—at his request—masons to erect a mosque and baths: Ford (1855), 466, 468; Fagnan (1924) 232 and note 2; Al-Hajjī (1968) 121–123.

44 ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣūn ibn ʿUmar ibn Jaʿfar al-Islāmī, d. 305/918. His great-grandfather, Jaʿfar, was the convert. Bobastro was the 'capital' of Ibn Ḥafṣūn and the most important of the fortress towns (*ummahāt al-ḥuṣūn*) controlled by him. The location of Bobastro is uncertain. It has been identified for many years with a site in the Mesas de Villaverde, north of the town of Ardales above the dramatic gorge called *El Chorro,* but this has been challenged in a well argued case by Vallvé, which puts Bobastro near Colmenar, east of Malaga. Ibn Ḥafṣūn is said to have been born near Ronda in Málaga—if the identification of 'Auta' with the village of Parauta is correct. But Vallvé thinks 'Auta' is to be identified with Cortijo de Auta, north of the village of Ríogordo which lies to the east of Malaga in the Axarqía (*al-Sharqīya*) region. He quotes a fifteenth-century Spanish source for the identification of Bobastro with Postuero. For Ibn Ḥafṣūn see EI 2nd x, 823–825; Lévi-Provençal i, 300; Fierro (1990) no. 68 and (1998). For Bobastro, *Bubashtir/ Bubashtru,* see EI 2nd Supplement xii, 152–153; Vallvé (1965); Acién Almasna (1995) 33; López Guzmán (2002) 811–813.

45 For the *Banū Khālid see History* 125, note 2. According to García Gómez, *Dūakīr* (d.w.n.k.y.r.) or *Doñeguero,* the governor of the province was a descendant of ʿAbdallāh ibn Khālid of *Ilfuntīn.* Fierro makes the very plausible suggestion that the revolt of Ibn Ḥafṣūn and the uprising in the province of *Rayya* of 264/878 was caused by the tactics used to raise the money to pay Hāshim ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's ransom, while prisoner of Alfonso III (866–910 CE) of Asturias. Hāshim was handed over to Alfonso in 262/876

and released in 264/878: García Gómez (1954) 225–227; Ibn Ḥayyān (1971) notes 322, 336; Fierro (1998) 303.

46 In modern Algeria: EI 2nd x, 90–91.

47 The Rustumids. The ruler at the time of Ibn Ḥafṣūn's stay in Tāhart was Abū l-Yaqẓān Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh, 258–281/872–894: EI 2nd viii, 638–640; Bosworth (1967) 22.

48 This took place in 269–270/883. *Funt Furb,* where Ibn Ḥafṣūn distinguished himself, may be Pancorbo between Burgos and Vitoria: Nichols (1975) 207, note 288. For an account of the campaign, see Lévi-Provençal i, 326.

49 Although this is clearly written in the manuscript, it seems to be a textual corruption, something that has become distorted in the course of several transmissions.

50 The *Banū Maslama* were an Arab family of Seville. descended from Ḥabīb ibn ʿUmayr (Appendix ii). Aḥmad ibn Maslama [ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Ḥabīb ibn ʿUmayr] was the ruler of Seville when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300–350/912–961) restored his authority over the city in 301/913. He was also a distant relative of Ibn al-Qūṭīya whose father ʿUmar played a major role in the negotiations between Ibn Maslama and Badr, Abd al-Raḥmān III's chief minister: Lévi-Provençal ii, 12–13; Guichard (1976) 190, note 32; Ibn Ḥayyān (1979) 70/43–81/53; Corriente and Viguera (1981) 63/43–72/53 (see Ibn Ḥayyān section 2, in Bibliography).

51 *Al-ʿarīf:* 'lieutenant'. Al-Tujībī commanded the garrison of the fort built by Hāshim. Accordng to Dozy ii, 116 an ʿarīf was *'un officier a la tête de quelque compagnie';* *ʿarīf al-mi'a,* officer of 100 men, centurion; *ʿarīf ʿalā yadd,* tribune. But its meaning seems to have been fairly flexible. In the *Akhbār majmūʿa* it means, among other things, the officer entrusted with the care of 100 mounts in the royal stables of al-Ḥakam I: Anon/Lafuente y Alcántara (1867) 116 and note 3, where the translator commented on the fact that this meaning was not found in the dictionaries available to him. He points out that the Spanish word *alarife* derived from ʿarīf has the generalised meaning of 'expert', or *perito*.

52 .

53 To ensure the loyalty of powerful regional families, hostages were taken and kept in Cordova, at the *dār al-rahā'in* (the hostages' quarters), which was near, or next to *(mujāwira)* the Bridge Gate. According to Ibn Ḥayyān it was still at the same location during the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III: Ibn Hayyān (1965) 186. The fact that these young men were being given lessons indicates that hostages were fairly well looked after. There are numerous instances in the *History* of hostages being kept in Cordova. Sometimes these unfortunates paid the ultimate penalty where their relatives revolted, page 137. The policy of taking hostages by consent or intimidation to ensure good behaviour was widespread in mediaeval times and was not confined to the Muslim world. In

some remote areas the practice continued into the twentieth century. Freya Stark mentions giving alms to tribal hostages held by the local ruler at Mukalla in the Hadhramaut in 1935. Two from each tribe guaranteed security 'from border to border': Stark (1953) 63, 66.

54 The sixth-century Arab poet ʿAnṭara ibn Shaddād whose heroic exploits are celebrated in the Sīrat Anṭar: EI 2nd i, 521–522.

55 The famous libertine poet of Baghdad better known as *Abū Nuwās* (130?–198?/ 747?–813?): EI 2nd i, 143–144.

56 Ibn Bāqir was a *qallāṣ* plural qallāsūn, a maker of *qalanṣuwas* hats, usually pointed.

57 The word ʿāmil means 'governor', but it seems more likely that 'tax collector' is what is intended here, even though the money was stolen from the *dār al-imāra,* which appears to have had a military and civil function. The term ʿāmil is used earlier in the text, page 122, with the specific meaning of tax/tithe collector and as the stolen money was tax revenue (*jibāya*), tax collector seems the most appropriate translation: Lévi-Provençal iii, 34–35, 40, 338.

58 *Qanbanīya, Campiña* is probably an Arabic variant of *campaña.* Dozy ii, 408 gives two other ways of spelling the word which he identifies as *Campaña de Cordoue.* The area lies south-west of Cordova and was a province, see Lévi-Provençal iii, fig. 11.

59 According to Lévi-Provençal, the account which follows is apocryphal. Mūsā ibn Mūsā was killed by the governor of Guadalajara, Ibn Salīm, who is called Irzāq ibn Muntīl in the *History:* Lévi-Provençal i, 154–155, 214–218, 312–316.

60 Mūsā ibn Mūsā had four sons: Lubb (Lope) died shortly after his father; Muṭarrif rebelled in Tudela in 258/871; Furṭūn declared himself ruler of Tudela; Ismāʿīl was able to survive for many years with aid of his nephew, Muḥammad ibn Lope. It was to recover Saragossa from Muḥammad ibn Lope in 269–270/883 that Ibn Ḥafṣūn saw action in support of the government of Cordova: Lévi-Provençal i, 324–329.

61 Muḥammad I gained the aid of the Tujībids, the powerful Arab family of Aragón, in his attempt to control the *Banū Qasī.* The dynasty was established by ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Muhājir. But ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd al-'Azīz al-Tujībī was the effective founder. His son, Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad al-Anqar or al-Aʿwar, took control of Saragossa in 276/889–890 and was confirmed as ruler by ʿAbd a-Raḥmān III in 312/924: EI 2nd x, 582–584; Lévi-Provençal i, 328–329, 388–389; Fierro (1990) no. 33.

8
The Reign of the Emir al-Mundhir (273–275/886–888)[1]

Then al-Mundhir ibn Muḥammad—may God have mercy upon him—came to the throne. He was a man of intelligence and generosity, who held in honour the wise and righteous ones, and employed anyone who had a measure of learning and cultivation. He removed Sulaymān ibn Aswad al-Ballūṭī from the post of judge, and appointed Abū [… ʿĀmir ibn] Muʿāwīya ibn Zīyād al-Lakhmī, who was endowed with righteousness and excellence.[2] He retained the ministers of his father, and reappointed Tammām ibn ʿAlqama and Muḥammad ibn Jahwar, who had been obscured. He proposed to pardon Hāshim for the misdemeanors he had committed against him, and appoint him chamberlain. But then he heard things that renewed his bad opinion of Hāshim, and killed him, as is well known.

Muḥammad ibn Jahwar was one of the severest assessors of judicial claims brought before him. But Hāshim disposed of him by a trick. He bribed one, ʿUmar, the servant (*khādim*) of the ministers, who poisoned the drink that Muḥammad asked to be brought to him, and he died.[3] Hāshim attended his funeral and remarked at his grave-side, 'Ah, many a knotty problem has been solved by death!' It was known that Muḥammad ibn Jahwar had exclaimed as he died, 'Ah, many a deed did I plan, which I will never see done!'[4]

Then al-Mundhir attacked Ibn Ḥafṣūn resolutely. He would have succeeded, had not death surprised him while he was besieging Ibn Ḥafṣūn. His brother and successor, ʿAbdallāh, was with him in the army at that time. So he gathered the royal household, members of the Quraysh family, clients and troops of the military contingents who were there, and he was proclaimed ruler.

Just before al-Mundhir's death, as he was preparing to return, he ordered Abū ʿUrwa and Ḥafṣ ibn Basīl, civil governor of Cordova, to take Hāshim's kinfolk from the prison, together with Hāshim's secretary, Sa'īd ibn Sulaymān, and Muṭarrif ibn Abī 'l-Rabī', his son-in-law, and crucify them on posts.[5] He wanted to see them thus, on the

day he planned to enter Cordova. But when death overtook him, and ʿAbdallāh became emir, he wrote to Abū ʿUrwa telling him to release them, and bring them to the royal palace and keep them there until he arrived. So they had good fortune, at the moment when they were expecting disaster!

It is said* Maysūr, a eunuch of al-Mundhir, poisoned the bandage that was placed on the wound after he had been cupped, to escape punishment for some misdemeanour, which would have been carried out on return to Cordova. When the blood surged, it welled forth and it was necessary to stop it [with the bandage].[6] So unexpectedly, al-Mundhir died.[7]

Notes and comments

1 Abū'l-Ḥakam al-Mundhir ibn Muḥammad I, born 229/844, emir 273/886, until his death, 15 Ṣafar 275/29 June 888: EI 2nd vii, 568–569.

2 ʿĀmir ibn Muʿāwīya ibn ʿAbd al-Muslim ibn Zīyād al-Lakhmī: al-Khushanī (1952) no. 40.

3 *Al-banīs,* plural *banā'is,* cup: Dozy i, 118.

4 Nichols's translation is awkward and does not make good sense. His suggestion is that the dying man referred to 'delicious syrop' (Spanish robb)—the poisoned draught—*Yā rubb ṣanīʿ*. But this would seem to be *rubba ṣanīʿin* 'Many a banquet', or probably here, 'Many a deed…'. Fagnan read the words of Muḥammad ibn Jahwar differently from Nichols and his translation is probably the right one: *Que de choses j'ai arrangées dont je ne veraí pas (la fin):* Lane iii, Bk. i, 104 and iv; Bk. i, 1754; Fagnan (1924) 242; Nichols (1975) 226.

5 Perhaps Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān ibn Jūdī: Fagnan (1924) 242, note 3.

6 The text of the manuscript says *b.b.sh.t.r.,* which seems to be *(bi-) bubashtir,* '(at) Bobastro', but Al-Ṭabbā reads batrihi, 'stopped it', which seems to fit better with the word *ḍarūra* (necessity) that immediately precedes it: Ibn al-Qūṭīya (1957) 120, note 3.

7 In the opinion of Lévi-Provençal the murder was instigated by ʿAbdallāh, his brother, and he suggests that Ibn al-Qūṭīya implies as much. While ʿAbdallāh may well have been responsible, it is hard to see this in the account, which would have been related to his listeners, and could still have been considered seditious during the time of ʿAbdallāh's grandson and reigning emir, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. Later his supposed implication was supported by the scholar Ibn Ḥazm (384–456/ 994–1064), Lévi-Provençal i, 332–333.

The area of the campaigns against Ibn Ḥafṣūn and the citadel of Bobastro

9
The Reign of the Emir ʿAbdallāh (275–300/888–912)[1]

Then ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad came to the throne. The situation regarding Ibn Ḥafṣūn became grave, which aroused all the people of al-Andalus.

ʻAbdallāh dismissed Abū […ʿĀmiribn] Muʿāwīya as judge and replaced him with al-Naḍar ibn Salāma; then he dismissed him and appointed Mūsā ibn Zīyād al-Judhāmī al-Shadhūnī.[2] Then he dismissed Mūsā and re-appointed al-Naḍar. He dismissed al-Naḍar and made him a minister, and summoned his brother Muḥammad from *Qabra* [Cabra]—which was their place of originand appointed him.[3] Muḥammad acted fairly and was one of the most favourably remembered among the righteous judges. He died, and the emir appointed al-Ḥabīb ibn Zīyād, who was his judge until ʿAbdallāh's death.[4]

ʿAbdallāh summoned Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Salīm, whom he had known well in his youth at *Shadhūna,* and made him market inspector *(al-sūq)*, which he was for 30 days.[5] Then the emir made him a minister; and then chamberlain. For 15 years he was *de facto* ruler, but ʿAbdallāh dismissed him and he faded into obscurity for the last ten years before ʿAbdallāh died.

He dismissed Tammām ibn ʿAlqama as minister and ʻAbd al-Rahmān ibn Umayya ibn ʿĪsā ibn Shuhayd as chamberlain. He was known as *Duḥaym*. Al-Mundhir had appointed him chamberlain after Hāshim, but ʿAbdallāh imposed fines on the protégés of al-Mundhir.

As the situation regarding Ibn Ḥafṣūn became grave, ʿAbdallāh appointed several men as commanders of the army. Among them were Aḥmad ibn Hāshim and Mūsā ibn al-ʻĀṣī. But they were not adequate.

He asked Sulaymān [ibn Muḥammad] ibn Wānsūs to become a minister, and he said to ʿAbd al-Malik ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Umayya ibn Yazīd—who was his minister and secretary, 'It all depends on you. I cannot find anyone to get rid of this enemy other than you.'[6] He

made him commander of the army. Then he asked ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad al-Zajjālī to become a minster and also appointed him his secretary. Ibn Umayya conducted the war against Ibn Ḥafṣūn, and occupied himself with it, until prince Muṭarrif killed him and his son in Seville. Then Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī ʿAbda became commander. He was at that time a minister and civil governor of Cordova.

* * *

The reason why prince Muṭarrif killed Ibn Umayyaħ, was that Muṭarrif was ill-disposed towards his father and proposed to overthrow him. But he said, 'I can never do that as long as Ibn Umayyaħ is alive and on his side.' ʿAbdallāh warned him against that, saying, 'I tolerated your killing of Muḥammad, your brother, because he was in rebellion.[7] But by God! if you attempt anything against Ibn Umayya, I will surely kill you!' He also warned Ibn Umayya against him, because he suspected Muṭarrif's secret designs. He said to Ibn Umayya, 'Never let him meet with you in [his] pavilion *(al-surādiq),* and only see him on horse back!'[8]

Now, Muṭarrif and Ibn Umayya set out for the provinces of Seville and *Shadhūna.* When they arrived at Seville, Muṭarrif contacted the people, saying, 'You know the enmity of Ibn Umayya towards you: he treated you shamefully when he was in control of you before. Well, he is doing the same thing even now, exhorting the emir—God preserve him—against you! If I rid you of him, come over to me.'

Seville at that time was well fortified. Its governor, Kurayb ibn [ʿUthmān] ibn Khaldūn, and Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj, agreed to support him, so Muṭarrif killed Ibn Umayya and sent his head to them.[9] The murder took place in his pavilion.

So they came out in support of Muṭarrif, who thanked them, ordering them to prepare to accompany him to *Shadhūna,* where they would join up with the *Banū ʿAbd al-Malik.*[10] He would then execute his plan to depose his father.

Now, when the news of Ibn Umayya's death reached the emir, it worried him, and it showed him the bad intentions of Muṭarrif towards him. He wrote to the people of Seville and *Shadhūna* warning them about Muṭarrif, and ordering them not to support him. So the *Banū ʿAbd al-Malik* rejected him, and Ibn Ḥajjāj and Ibn Khaldūn wanted to break up his army—though Ibn Daysam al-Ishbīlī rebuked them and argued against them. Then Muṭarrif knew his hopes were impossible to achieve. Therefore he wrote to his father asking for safe conduct, which he gave him.

But when he arrived in Cordova and went to his home in the *Madīna* [*al-ʿatīqa,* the old quarter], the ministers and leading men received

grave news, including the fact that Shaykh Ibn Lubāba, Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Ṣaffār, ʿUbaydallāh ibn Yaḥyā, and other important and distinguished Muslims had gone to Muṭarrif, saluting him and congratulating him on his arrival from his journey, and the safe conduct granted by his father.[11] After they had left, Muṭarrif said to his secretary, Marwān ibn ʿUbaydallāh ibn Basīl, 'Well, if you feel a little hungry, I will definitely satisfy you with a fry-up of the meat of these fat beasts destined for slaughter, the like of which you have never tasted!' But the secretary told that to ʿUbaydallāh ibn Yaḥyā, who was the prince's guardian/tutor (*waṣīy*) and responsible for looking after him. ʿUbaydallāh met with his companions, and informed them what Muṭarrif had said. So they resolved to get rid of him, justifying that on the grounds of heretical beliefs *(al-zandaqaẖ)* attributed to him.

They approached the chamberlain, [Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad] Ibn al-Salīm and said, 'We have decided to leave our homes out of fear of Muṭarrif, and his request that we acknowledge him as emir and depose his father.[12] If you protect us we will do it, otherwise we will leave. We have knowledge for which we will be honoured wherever we go.' So the chamberlain told that to ʿAbdallāh, the prince's father, who dispatched ʿUbaydallāh ibn Muḥammad [ibn Abī ʿĀmir], the commander of the cavalry (*ṣaḥib al-khayl*) and ʿAbdallāh [ibn Muḥammad] ibn Muḍar, the civil governor. Muṭarrif held them off for two days, but on the third he was taken. Ibn Muḍar took him away, while ʿUbaydallāh remained in control of Muṭarrif's house. He was brought to the chamber of ministers, taken in and his arrival announced. 'Why have you brought him?' exclaimed the chamberlain. 'Take him back to his house, execute him, and bury him!' Which was done.

The leadership of the army went to Aḥmad ibn Abī ʿAbda after the death of Ibn Umayya. Muṭarrif had murdered his own brother Muḥammad in the royal palace, after numerous well known incidents that passed between them. For which God exacted punishment, as Muḥammad was a good man, and truer in his faith. Ibn Abī ʿAbda undertook the fight against Ibn Ḥafṣūn and other rebels in al-Andalus, summoning the bravest men from every town and enrolling them in the true cause. A squadron *(ʿuqda)* of 300 cavalry was assembled around him, the like of which was never assembled in alAndalus before or since.[13] He continued to wrest from Ibn Ḥafṣūn his power and what advantage he had gained, until he carried the battle to the gate of his stronghold. The emir ʿAbdallāh was strengthened by his action, so that military expeditions (*ṣawāʾif*) set off from Cordova to all parts of al-Andalus each summer, and he collected many taxes each year.

For example, his expedition against Daysam:* [ibn Isḥāq, ruler of Tudmīr]: He had increased his army by adding foot soldiers, and

brave men of the Marches, and by the purchase of slaves until they numbered 5,000 cavalry, not counting foot soldiers.[14] When the royal army approached Daysam, and were about two days' march away, Ibn Abī ʿAbda wrote to him demanding payment of the taxes due, as he had not paid for several years. When Daysam read the letter, he made light of it and showed his lack of concern, but he asked his companions for their advice. 'Grant us permission and we shall bring him to you,' some said. Others said, 'When he is encamped we will take a look at his army to see how big it is; for we have heard that it is small.'

They saw it, and scoffed at its size, and were eager to confront it. But next morning they set off, and found that he had struck camp and was waiting with 300 men, swords bared. They attacked the host of Daysam resolutely, and within an hour had vanquished 1,600 of the enemy in the camp to which they had descended.

Then the commander advanced until he reached the river, and ordered one of his lieutenants (*ʿarif* pl. *'urafa'*) to call out to them. 'People of Tudmīr! Is Daysam with you?' 'Yes,' they returned, 'he is listening.' Then he continued, 'Here is the message of the commander —God preserve him: You dog! You son-of-a-bitch! We offered you peace, but you only wanted to fight, and now you are responsible for these stinking corpses having lost their souls! By the head of the emir! if you do not do what we have ordered you to do, we will surely begin to change this prosperity into ruin. There will not be a town left in Tudmīr!'

Daysam called out, 'I submit! I submit!' and that evening he brought the money he owed, and then he [Ibn Abī ʿAbda] left.

It is related that Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj allied himself with Ibn Ḥafṣūn, revoked his allegiance to the emir and refused to pay taxes.[15] Then Ibn Ḥafṣūn paid him a visit in Carmona, some two years after their alliance, and Ibn Ḥajjāj had sent him the support of his cavalry, which he used at Elvira, Tudmīr and Jaén. In the third year, when Ibn Ḥafṣūn met him, he said to him, 'Let me have your cavalry and your good fighters. Send them with the "noble Arab" [meaning Fujayl ibn Abī Muslim al-Shadhūnī, who was the commander of Ibn Ḥajjāj's cavalry]. I am determined to confront Ibn Abī ʿAbda at the start of my territory and trap him. Then we will sack Cordova the following day.'

But Fujayl, who was a man of good sense and courage, said to Ibn Ḥafṣūn, 'Listen, Abū Ḥafṣ, do not under-estimate the numbers of Ibn Abī ʿAbda: they are few but have the strength of many. If all the people of al-Andalus gathered against them, they would not be able to defeat them!' But he replied, 'Lord of the Arabs! He does not frighten me; nor his numbers, nor who is with him. I have 1,600 brave men; Ibn Mastanaħ has 500; perhaps there are 500 with you.[16] If we

combine all of these we shall devour them!' But Fujayl replied, 'He may check, or even defeat you. What makes you eager? I know who his companions are—and so do you!'

But Ibn Ḥajjāj gave him his cavalry and took them to Bobastro. He had sent out scouts to watch Ibn Abī ʿAbda and these reported that he had crossed the *Wādī Shannīl* [the Rio Genil] and that he was in the area near Peña and *Istiba* [Estepa].[17] So Ibn Ḥafṣūn set off and found him encamped. The commander advanced and so did Ibn Ḥafṣūn and inflicted a defeat on him in which he lost 543 of his men, whose heads were collected. The camp was looted. Ibn Ḥafṣun's men were safe, and not one man was lost.

Then Ibn Ḥafṣūn and Fujayl went back to their camp. When they were together, Ibn Ḥafṣūn was so excited he was incapable of command. In his camp he had only horses and no men. So he sent to Bobastro and his other forts nearby, requesting the despatch of men, and some 15,000 arrived. He was greatly pleased with the large number, and they mounted up to set off.

Fujayl approached him and Ibn Ḥafṣūn said to him, 'In the name of God!, Lord of the Arabs! Let us go!' Answered Fujayl, 'To where?' To attack Ibn Abī ʿAbda!' he replied. 'Abū Ḥafṣ,' said Fajil, 'attempting two victories in one day would be defying God, and abusing His bounty! You have already struck Ibn Abī ʿAbda a blow, which will make him cringe with shame for the next ten years! So that you can do it again, be on your guard; save your strength!'

'But we outnumber him!' cried Ibn Ḥafṣūn, 'we shall take him by surprise, with his men. It will be a lot if he even mounts his horse to escape!' So Fujayl arose and called for his weapons, but he exclaimed, 'By God! I accept no responsibility for this folly!'

They set off and met up with the enemy. The afternoon prayers had been called and prayed, and food had been set out for Ibn Abī ʿAbda to eat with his men. A spear appeared on the horizon and al-Rūṭī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid straightened up and saw it. Now he was a man of good sense and courage. 'Comrades,' he said, 'we are being attacked! I can see Ibn Ḥafṣūn coming with his cavalry and foot soldiers.'

They seized their weapons and mounted up. Then some said to the others, 'Throw away the lances and rely on your swords.' So they did so. Then they inflicted total defeat on Ibn Ḥafṣūn and his men and overran his camp. Some 1,500 of his troops were killed. And so, victory went to the Godfearing![18]

* * *

Now, Ibn Ḥafṣūn had given up a nephew as hostage in Cordova after his first truce, and Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj had given up his son called ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. So when the news of the battle reached the city next day, the emir went to the court [(*saṭḥ*) of the palace] and ordered that

the hostages be brought out and executed. Ibn Ḥafṣun's nephew was the first to die. Then Badr [ibn Aḥmad] who was awaiting the emir with a group of servants (*waṣīf* pl. *wuṣafā'*) said, 'My lord: Ibn Ḥafṣūn's nephew has been executed. If we also kill the son of Ibn Ḥajjāj that will unite the two of them against you until they die. There is hope that Ibn Ḥajjāj will return to obedience, while there is no hope that Ibn Ḥafṣūn will ever do so.' The emir called his ministers and asked their opinion. They applauded the view of Badr.

After they had left, Badr suggested that Ibn Ḥajjāj should be well treated and his son returned to him, saying that it would ensure his obedience and his return to the fold. He conferred in secret with al-Tujībī, the treasurer about this, and al-Tujībī wrote to the Emir supporting Badr's view, saying that it would ensure Ibn Ḥajjāj's return. So the son was released, and acknowledged as ruler of Seville. His brother Muḥammad was acknowledged as ruler of Caramona.[19]

The son was turned over to al-Tujībī who took him to Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj, his father. Then aid and co-operation between Ibn Ḥafṣūn and Ibrāhīm came to an end, though the exchange of letters and gifts continued. Matters remained thus between them until Ibrāhīm died. His allegiance to the emir was regularised and he sent his taxes and gifts. The position of the inhabitants of Cordova improved because of the opening of the road from Seville: and by the opening up of all of the road to the West there was access to the granaries.

* * *

Because of his suggestion Badr was made a minister and adviser.[20]

* * *

Now, when al-Mundhir was emir, he appointed Aḥmad ibn al-Barā' ibn Mālik al-Qurashī[21] governor of Saragossa and the Upper March in opposition to the *Banū Qasī*.[22] His position strengthened and he gathered a large army. When ʿAbdallāh became emir, al-Barā', Aḥmad's father, was a minister in the chamber of ministers *[al-bayt—bayt/dār al-wuzarā']*. Something was said to ʿAbdallāh about the minister which annoyed him, and worried him: it was something he had said in the chamber, which all the ministers heard.

At that time Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tujībī, called *Abū Yaḥyā* who was the ancestor of the Tujībīds—had been on good terms with the emir since he was a boy, The emir ʿAbdallāh wrote to him and commanded him that if he could assassinate Aḥmad ibn al-Barā', he should do it. Secretly the emir sent a diploma of appointment over Saragossa and the surrounding area to Muḥammad. He informed his father, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbdal-ʿAzīz of that and made him a minister. The two of them arranged matters to achieve what they wanted. They bribed Aḥmad's guards *(aʿwān)* to kill him. When the news of his death came, ʿAbdallāh dismissed his [Aḥmad's] father from

the ministry. Thus the Tujībīds controlled Saragossa: from then to our time.[23]

* * *

Muḥammad ibn Lope [ibn Qasī] encircled al-Tujībī in Saragossa for 18 years, until he was assassinated by a baker (*farrān,* from *furn*—baking oven) who hit him with a javelin-shot in the orchards outside the gate of the city, and killed him [in 285/898].[24]

Notes and comments

1 Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad I, brother of the latter, born 229/844, emir 275/888 until his death, 1 Rabīʿ I 300/16 October 912.

2 Al-Naḍar ibn Salāma ibn Walīd al-Kilābī. Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Zīyād al-Judhāmī. The ancestor of Mūsā ibn Zīyād al-Judhāmī of *Shadhūna* was Zīyād ibn ʿAmr, one of the Syrian chiefs who aided ʿAbd al-Raḥman I: al-Khushanī (1952), nos. 41–42; Fierro (1990) nos. 69 and 8; *History,* 68.

3 Al-Khushanī (1952) no. 43.

4 Al-Ḥabīb ibn Muḥammad ibn Zīyād al-Lakhmī: al-Khushanī (1952) no. 44.

5 Levi-Provençal i, 336.

6 Al-Ḍabbī (1997) no. 775.

7 Muḥammad (d. 891) was the eldest son of ʿAbdallāh. His murder was authorised by his father: Levi-Provençal i, 334 and the dynastic table opposite p. 396.

8 Basic security precautions, but ultimately neglected by the victim.

9 Kurayb ibn ʿUthmān ibn Khaldūn and his brother Khālid were members of one of the leading Arab families of Seville. They sided wth Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj in a struggle with the neo-Muslims for control of the area, begun in 276/899. Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj established himself as ruler of Seville and in 286/899 murdered Kurayb ibn Khaldūn. He died in control of the city in 298/910–911. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300–350/912–961) re-established Umayyad rule there after he became emir: Lévi-Provençal i, 359–366.

10 They may have been descended from ʿAbd al-Malik ibn ʿUmar al-Marwāni, governor of Seville in the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I (138–172/756–788), Fierro (1990) nos. 40, 45.

11 Ibn al-Ṣaffār may have been an ancestor of Abū'l-Qasīm ibn al-Ṣaffār the astronomer, mathematician and author of a work on the astrolabe, mentioned by al-Maqqarī. Yaḥyā was the son of Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Laythī who died in 298/911 aged 82: al-Maqqarī (1968) no.161; Marín (1988) no. 896.

12 See *History* 134.

13 ʿ*Uqda*, normally meant a pennon or pennant carried by officer (*nāẓir*) in charge of a small formation of troops: Lévi-Provençal iii, 78.

14 Daysam ibn Ishaq was the ruler of Murcia and Lorca: Lévi-Provençal i, 340.

15 Ibrāhīm was related by marriage to Ibn Ḥafṣūn They remained in alliance until 289/902, Nichols (1975) 243, note 333.

16 Saʿīd ibn Walīd ibn Mastana was a neo-Muslim leader who controlled the area between Cordova and Jaén and had strong links with Ibn Ḥafṣūn: Lévi-Provençal i, 339.

17 Estepa is a small town 20 km east of Osuna, in the province of Sevilla on the river Genil.

18 Ibn Abī ʿAbda inflicted this defeat on Ibn Ḥafṣūn in the year 289/902: Lévi-Provençal i. 378. Ibn Ḥafṣūn had earlier suffered a major defeat at the hands of ʿAbdallāh at the Battle of Poley/Aguilar in *Rabī*ʿ I 278/July 891.

19 *Sujjila lahu ʿalā Ishbīlīya:* He was recognised as his father's heir-apparent with a written diploma. When Ibrāhīm died in 298/910–911 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān succeeded his father as ruler of Seville, and his brother Muḥammad became ruler of Carmona: Levi-Provençal ii, 368.

20 ʿAbdallāh abolished the post of chamberlain and gave its functions to Badr ibn Aḥmad, though without the title: Lévi-Provençal i, 336–337.

21 Fierro (1990) no. 70, 60.

22 Lévi-Provençal i, 388.

23 The Tujībīds controlled Saragossa until they were replaced by the *Banū Hud* around 430/1039.

24 Lévi-Provençal i, 389.

10
The Reign of the Emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300–350/912–961)[1]

The situation of the *Banū Qasī* declined due to severe pressure on them from Sancho *[Sānju]* of *Banbalūna* [Pamplona] until the time of the [emir, then] caliph, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad—may God have mercy on him.[2] He was favoured by good fortune. He never encountered anything that he could not surmount. All the rebels of al-Andalus joined the royal army and he made major campaigns against Galicia, by which God subdued the enemy, and destroyed many of them.

* * *

In the year 312/924–925 the *Banū Qasī* surrendered and were removed from the Upper March. Control of the area went to Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tujībī and his sons. The *Banū Qasī* became part of the royal army.[3]

* * *

Ibn Ḥafṣūn died [in 305/917] at the beginning of his reign [Abd al-Raḥmān III], after he had become friends [with the emir] and sworn allegiance.[4] His son Jaʿfar succeeded him and rebelled until God destroyed him.[5] His brother, [Abū] Sulaymān, succeeded him and was even more violent in his rebellion. He fought on with courage until God destroyed him by a fall from his horse in battle.[6] His head and corpse were brought to Cordova and crucified at the palace gate. He was succeeded by his brother Ḥafṣ, who also rebelled. So ʿAbd al-Raḥmān personally campaigned against him. He besieged him and left commanders there whom he changed periodically. The last one in charge was Saʿīd ibn al-Mundhir, called *Ibn al-Salīm*.[7] He wore Ḥafṣ down with the siege, until he promised allegiance, and wrote asking for safe conduct and that the minister Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥudayr be sent down to him so he could surrender to him, as Ḥafṣ did not trust *Ibn al-Salīm*. So he [Aḥmad] went and took his surrender [in 316/928] and brought him to Cordova.[8] Then the emir went to Bobastro and destroyed it and built a fort *(qaṣba)* next to the site.

After that he fought against Ibn Marwān [al-Jillīqī]; then against Toledo and then Saragossa. And all who resisted him were overcome.[9]

* * *

Then related,* ʿAbdallāh ibn Muʿammal al-Nadīm called *al-yamāma,* the following: We were together with ʿUthmān (d. 298/910–911) the son of the emir Muḥammad and a group of writers and poets in Cordova on *Yawm [al-]* ʿ*Anṣara* (the Day of Pentecost), when his brother Ibrāhīm (d. 298/910–911) entered.[10] He was older than ʿUthmān, who rose and kissed his hand and bade him be seated. The rest of us did the same.

Then Ibrāhīm said, 'Brother, I was looking for some one to talk to today, in the city, but I could not find anyone. It was mentioned that everyone is here with you. So I came, hoping to talk to you and the others.' ʿUthmān offered him something to eat, but he said, 'I ate before coming.' So ʿUthmān turned to the curtained-off area and said to his slave girl Bazīʿaħ, called the *Imām,* who was famous in her day for her singing, and told her to sing, saying, 'My brother, my lord and my elder, has honoured me with his presence today, so give us the best you can.' Then she burst out singing with the words:

It delights my heart to see your visitors*
Having he who loves you near, augments my pleasure.

But ʿUthmān knitted his brows at this, and great disapproval showed in his face. After we had left, he went to her with a whip in his hand and said, 'When my brother enters you sing: *It delights my heart to see your visitors;* by God! Undoubtedly you are in love with him!' So he punished her.

Now, when the news of this reached us, said ʿAbdallāh ibn Muʿammal, we said, 'Well, there is no point in bringing up the matter; it is over and done with.' He continued: I was with ʿUthmān on a similar occasion, as we were on many days, when his brother Ibrāhīm entered, and he rose and bade him be seated. Then he said what he had said earlier to Baziʿaħ and she burst out singing:

When I see the face of the bird, I say*
The crow of dissent and division is not welcome.

Ibrāhīm sat up and said, 'Brother can something like this be sung when I come in?' ʿUthmān arose and said, 'My lord, this hour I shall give her 500 lashes!' He called for a whip. Now on that occasion, Abū Sahl al-Iskandarānī was present and he was the nicest, wittiest of men and quickest in responding. He said to Ibrāhīm, 'For God's sake and your own! Do not let this poor woman be beaten twice because of you! She was punished a few days ago for singing: *It delights my heart*

to see your visitors. If she stoned you to death, she could be forgiven!'

Ibrāhīm said to ʿUthmān, 'Brother, I see to what lengths your jealousy towards me has reached. By God! I shall never come to your home again after this!' And he left.

The *History* of Ibn al-Qūṭīya is finished

Thanks be to God alone.

Notes and comments

1 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh, grandson of the emir ʿAbdallāh, born 22 Ramaḍān 277/7 January 891, emir from 1 *Rabīʿ* I 300/16 October 912 until he revived the Umayyad Caliphate and proclaimed himself caliph in 316/929. The text gives only a brief account of his reign down to 326/927, EI 2nd i, 83–84.

2 Sancho Garcés I (d. 926 CE) was the Basque king who exerted continual pressure on the declining *Banū Qasī* dynasty: Levi-Provençal i, 323–333, 392 and the dynastic table opposite p. 388. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān became emir in 300/912 and caliph in 317/929. The text actually says: 'until ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ascended to the *caliphate (khilāfa)',* although the events referred to occurred before 317/929. But because the text was written down after 317/929 the words caliph, caliphate are often used instead of emir, emirate.

3 *Ṣārū min ḥashmihi wa-jundihi.* Lévi-Provençal outlines what happed to the *Banū Qasī* after 324/912: Levi-Provençal ii, 30–31.

4 Ibn Ḥafṣūn converted to Christianity in 286/899 and was buried at Bobastro. After the fortress was captured by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III his body was exhumed and exposed in Cordova: Lévi-Provençal ii, 15–16.

5 Jaʿfar also converted to Christianity, although the other three sons of Ibn Ḥafṣūn remained Muslims: Lévi-Provençal ii, 18.

6 He was captured and executed in 314/913: Lévi-Provençal ii, 19.

7 Lévi-Provençal ii, 13, 20, 26.

8 Ḥafṣ finished his days in the service of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III: Lévi-Provençal ii, 20.

9 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān recovered control of Badajoz from the descendants of Ibn Marwān al-Jillīqī in 318/930. Toledo was recovered in 320/932 and Saragossa in 326/937, though Muḥammad ibn Hāshim al-Tujībī was allowed to remain in control: Lévi-Provençal ii, 24–32, 54; EI 2nd x, 582–584.

10 Both brothers died in the same year: Fagnan (1901–1904) ii, 242, 246. ʿ*Īd al-ʿanṣara,* Whitsuntide, Pentecost (Christianity), or *Shabouth* (Judaism).

Appendices

Appendix i The symbol *hā'* appears at the end of each of the following anecdotes and statements in the text of the *History*. Page and line numbers are from Ibn Akutya (1982).

1 'The reasons for Ṭāriq's invasion in 92/711', beginning ***wa-kāna sabab*** *dukhūlihi*…(folio 4 verso=23, 1. 13) and ending ***ʿinda qud ūmihi*** (folio 4 verso=34, 1. 5).

2 Al-Walīd's intention to withdraw from al-Andalus, beginning ***thumma atāhum ʿahd*** *al-Walīd*…(folio 5 verso=36, 1. 1) and ending *ikhtilāf* (folio 5 verso=36, 1. 2).

3 'Sulaymān's appointment of Governors of *Ifriqīyā'*, beginning ***thumma inna Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Malik*** *wallā*…(folio 6 verso=37, 1. 12), and ending *al-Maghrib* (folio 6 verso=37, 1. 14).

4 'The claim of the *Banū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Ghāfiqī'*, beginning ***wa-zaʿama***…but without a key word at that point (folio 7 recto= 39, 1. 4) and ending *Ishbīlīya* (folio 7 recto=39, 1. 4).

5 'Archidona', beginning ***wa-kānat Urjudhūna***…(folio 12 recto=48, 1. 1) and ending *Rayya* (folio 12 recto=48, 1. 1).

6 'ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and the *Banū Lakhm'*, beginning ***wa-waqaʿa khabaruhu ʿalā Yūsuf***…(12 recto=48, 1. 10) and ending *Lakhm* (12 verso=49, 1. 6).

7 'The Battle of Marj Rāhiṭ, beginning *wa-kānat al-wāqiʿa* but with no key word at that point (12 verso=49, 1. 10) and ending ***wa-qabā'ilihim*** (12 verso=49, 1. 13).

8 'ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's capture of Cordova', beginning ***thumma amara ʿAbd al-Raḥmān***…(folio 12 verso=49, 1. 16) and ending *ra'ā* (13 verso =5, 1. 7).

9 'The treachery of al-Ṣabbāḥ, beginning, ***thumma rufiʿa ilayhi*** anna… (folio 14 recto=1. 6), and ending *makyada* (folio 14 recto=52, 1. 11).

10 'Abū'l-Makhshī's praise of Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān', beginning ***wa-kāna*** *Abū'l-Makhsī* (folio 16 recto=56, 1. 16) and ending before the verse beginning *khadʿat umma*…(folio 16 recto=57, 1. 3). The symbol here is in the form of a half-circle with a central dot.

11 'Hishām's remorse', beginning ***fa-lamma ṣāra*** al-amr (folio 16

recto=57, 1. 10) and ending *muḍā'afa* (folio 16 recto=57, 1. 11).

12 More verses by Abū'l-Makhshī beginning ***wa-li-Abī'l-Makhshī…*** (folio 16 verso=57, 1. 12) and ending *qālahu* (folio 16 verso=57, 1. 12). The symbol here is in the form of a half-circle with a central dot.

13 After each of the two lines of verse ending *mā lā yaqūluha* (folio 16 verso= 57, 1. 14).

14 After the heading to the anecdote ***Min akhbār al-Ṣumayl*** (folio 18 recto= 60, 1. 12). Its use is decorative here. The anecdote ends *wa'l-arādīl* (folio 18 recto=60, 1. 17).

15 'Hishām and al-Ḍabbī' beginning ***wa-ḥukiya*** *anna…* (folio 18 verso= 61, 1. 10) and ending *raḥimuhu Allāh* (folio 18 verso=62, 1. 1).

16/17 'Hishām and Abū Hind', beginning ***wa-marra Hishām…*** (folio 19 verso=73, 1. 18) and end ing *jamīlan* (folio 19 verso=63, 1. 19). The letter *hā'* referred to here may have been used decoratively after the key words mentioning ***thumma waliya al-Ḥakam…raḥimuhu Allāh*** (folio 19 verso= 64, 1. 2) which comes immediately after the previous line. It is difficult to separate the two.

18 'The Rebellion of the Arrabal', beginning ***thumma ḥadathat bi-Qurṭuba ḥādithat al-hayj…*** (folio 22 recto=68, 1. 4) and ending hādhā (folio 22 verso=69, 1. 17).

19 After the heading ***Mafākhir al-Ḥakam raḥimahu Allāh*** (folio 22 verso= 70, 1. 2). Its use is decorative here.

20 Some verses of Ibn al-Shamir beginning ***wa-li-Ibn al-Shamir…*** (26 recto=771. 13) and ending *fīhā* folio 26 recto [this line does not appear in Ibn-Akutya (1982). It should follow on from 77, 1. 13].

21 'The Body in the Basket', beginning ***wa-min akhbār*** 'Abd *al-Raḥmān* ibn *al-Ḥakam…annahu* (folio 29 verso=84, 1. 15) and ending *al-ra'y* (folio 30 recto=85, 1. 15).

22 After the heading ***Mafākhir Muḥammad raḥimuhu Allāh,*** (30 recto=86, 1. 1). Its use is decorative here.

23 'The appointment of Sa'īd ibn Sulaymān', beginning ***wa-amḍā*** *Sa'id ibn Sulaymān…* (folio 30 verso=86, 1. 9) and ending *Mu'min ibn Sa'īd* (folio 30 verso=87, 1. 5).

24 'The Judge swears an oath', beginning ***wa-ba'atha*** *ilayhi Aydūn…*(folio 31 recto=87, 1. 15), and ending *fa-anshada…*(folio 31 recto=87, 1. 17).

25 'The extensions to the Mosque of Cordova', beginning ***wa-kāna*** *'Abd al-Raḥmān…*(folio 31 verso=88, 1. 13) and ending Qawmis (folio 31 verso=88, 1. 15).

26 'Muḥammad's seizure of the throne' beginning ***fa-lamma*** tawqffā *'Abd al-Raḥmān…*(folio 33 recto=91, 1. 16) and ending *anshada Muḥam…*(folio 34 verso=94, 1. 6).

27 'Ḥāmid al-Zajjālī's appointment as secretary' beginning ***fa-ḥaddatha*** *al-qāʿid*...(folio 34 recto=96, 1. 3) and ending *Saʿid* (folio 36 verso= 98, 1. 5).

28 'The Ministers of Muḥammad', which begins without a key word (folio 36 verso=98, 1. 7) and ends *al-ḥaqq* (folio 36 verso=98, 1. 12).

29 'Ibn Shuhayd and the Hostages', beginning ***thumma narji' ilā akhbār Umayya***...(folio 40 recto=106, 1. 2) and ending *al-hazl* (folio 40 verso= 106, 1. 8).

30 'Mūsā ibn Mūsā and Irzāq', beginning ***[fa-li]narji' ilā mā baqā min khabar Mūsā ibn Mūsā*** (folio 42 recto=111, 1. 1) and ending *in shāʾ Allāh [taʿālā]* (folio 43 recto=112, 1. 16).

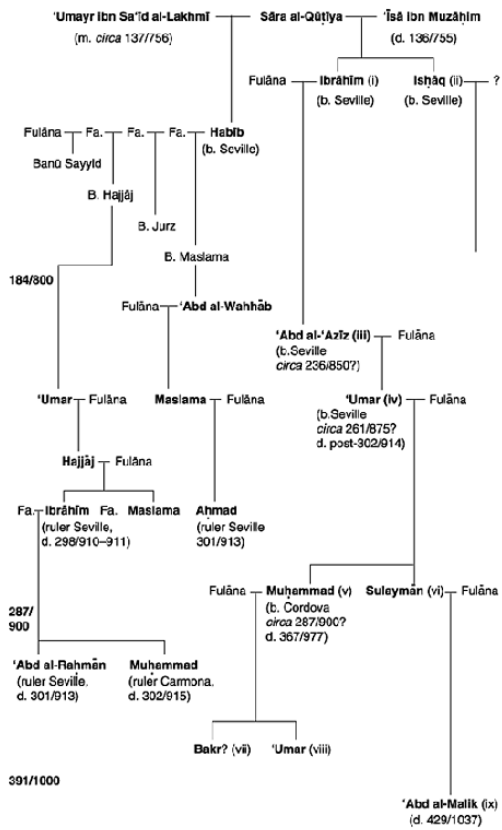
31 'The Treachery of Muṭarrif', beginning ***wa-kāna*** *sabab*...(folio 44 verso =116, 1. 8) and ending *fa-kāna dhāliia* (folio 45 verso=118, 1. 8).

32 'Ibn Abīʿ Abda and Ibn Ḥafṣūn', beginning ***wa-min akhbārihi*** *anna*... (folio 46 verso=119, 1. 20) and ending *li'l-muttaqīyīn* (folio 47 verso =122, 1. 8).

33 The anecdote about *Bazīʿa* beginning ***ḥakāʿAbdallāh ibn Muʿammal al-Nadīm***...(folio 49 recto=125, 1. 14) and ending *wajh* (folio 49 verso =126, 1. 12). There is no other key word in the anecdote which finishes *wa-kharaja* (folio 50 recto=127, 1. 8) an dis followed by the letter *hāʾ*. The two verses of poetry included are preceded by half-circles with dots in their centres.

Appendix ii The *Banū'l-Qūṭīya*, *circa*. 107–429/725–1037 and other descendants of Sāra al-Qūṭīya (i–ix, all known as *Ibn al-Qūṭīya*)

81/700. *(See chart on following page)*



Appendix iii The firāsh, carpet-of-office or throne-of-office for officials of the Umayyad Emirate?

I am translating firāsh as 'carpet-of-office', though it is not certain whether it was a carpet or a padded mat. *Firāsh,* which in modern Arabic means a bed on legs or a mattress, had several meanings in the mediaeval Islamic world. In both East and West it meant a sleeping mat or mattress. However, it also meant a throne: *firāsh and farash* had that meaning under the Umayyads of Damascus and the ʿAbbāsids. **It** does not seem to mean that here, though it is not impossible, and certainly there is important visual evidence in this respect. Ribera translates *firāsh* as *tapiz,* 'carpet, tapestry', and Nichols follows him in this. The *word firāsh* is used on four occasions in the *History:*

- *amara bi-rafaʿ firāshihi.* [Al-Ḥakam] ordered the confiscation (taking-up) of his [Abū Bassām's] *firāsh.*' (91);
- *wa-umira bi-firāsh lil-wizāra.* 'He [Ḥāmid al-Zajjālī] was awarded a *ministerial firāsh* [by Muḥammad I] (116);
- *Fa-dakhala Umayya bayt al-wizāra fa-qāla…li-aṣḥābihi fa-urʿida Hāshim fī firāshihi wa-daʿā bi-waṣīfihi….* 'Umayya entered the Ministerial Chambers and declared to his companions…. Hashim trembled on his *firāsh,* and called to his servant….' (117);
- *Fa-lamma nazala ʿalā firāsh al-madīna, wa atāhu al-mu'addib, fa-qāla lahu …*'When he [ʿĪsā ibn Shuhayd] had sat down on the firāsh of the [ṣāḥib] *al-madīna,* civil governor, the teacher came to him and he said to him…' (121).

It also appears in the al-Muqtabis of Ibn Ḥayyān when Badr is rewarded for his advice to ʿAbdallāh on the hostages, *wa-amara fa-wuḍi'a [bi-waḍ'?] lahu firāsh al-shurā maʿal-wuzarā'* 'He [ʿAbdallāh] gave the command, and a *firāsh* of an adviser was put down for him with the ministers'. A *firāsh* was something rolled out or folded out on the ground, or in the case of officials probably placed on a dais. Al-Khushanī tells us that during Ramadan Saʿīd ibn Ḥassān a notable *faqīh* of Cordova (d. 236/850) used to tell his wife to fold or roll up (*ṭawa*) the *firāsh* because he would sleep on his prayer mat. When telling the story of Tālūt, quoting Ibn al-Qūṭīya Ibn Ḥayyān uses the same verb in the *al-Muqtabis* but apparently with the meaning 'to roll

out' rather **th**an 'to roll up'. He says that al-Ḥakam rewarded Ṭālūt and ordered that a *carpet of honour* be laid for him in the ministerial chambers: *amara bi-tawfīr irzāqihi wa-ṭayy firāsh karamatihi bi-bayt wuzarā'ihi.* Makki and Corriente translate this passage: *ordenó dar a Talut una generosa pensión, y le extendió el tapiz de sus honores* (the carpet of honour) *entre el divan de sus visires.*

The *firāsh*—whatever form it had—was clearly an important item. Its bestowal and removal was a matter of considerable significance in the protocol of the Umayyad government of al-Andalus. It was an important symbol of office and is specifically mentioned by Ibn Khaldun when describing the *bayt al-wuzarā'* (chamber of ministers), established by the Umayads of al-Andalus: *wa-juʿila lahum bayt, yajlisūna fīhi ʿalā furush munaḍḍada lahum,* 'a Chamber was established for them in which they sat on *furush,* set out/ arranged in order for them' (*naḍḍada* which Lane gives as 'to arrange or put together in regular order'). Having said this, we have to consider some visual evidence. Among the several ivory pyxides made in the following fourth/tenth century during the Umayyad Caliphate is one, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (368–1880), which was made in 359/969–970 for Zīyād ibn Aflaḥ, prefect of police (*ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*) in Cordova. Here the central figure, who is assumed to be the prefect himself, sits on a four-legged throne, with two attendants flanking him. Could this be a depiction of a *firāsh*? In which case *firāsh* would have to be understood as 'throne of office'. The argument against this is that the normal word for a throne was usually *sarīr*. Furthermore the reference in al-Khushanī to Saʿīd ibn Ḥassān implies that the *firāsh*—of 100 years previously, at least—was larger than the throne shown on the pyxis of Zīyād ibn Aflaḥ. You could not sleep comfortably on a piece of furniture of that size. The rather unsatisfactory conclusion is that a *firāsh* was probably not a carpet or rug; more likely an envelope of decorated fabric, filled with feathers or something similar: in short, a kind of mattress, which was probably placed on a four-legged dais in the third/ninth century. By the following century the dais may have become a high-backed throne.

Abenalcotía/Ribera (1926) 79; Lévi-Provençal iii, 415; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (Cairo 1940) ii, 79; Sourdel (1960); Nichols (1975) 211; Sadan (1976) 26–27; al-Khushanī (1992) no. 433; Ibn Ḥayyān (1999) 111 recto, 131 recto; Makki and Corriente (2001) 77; Ibn Khaldūn (2001) 273; Von Folsach and Meyer (2005) 2, 2 cat. No. 12, 319. For Makki and Corriente (2001), please refer to Ibn Ḥayyān, section 2, in Bibliography.

Appendix iv *Al-muṣḥaf alladhī yunsab ilā ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān,* the copy of the Qur'ān of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān in the Great Mosque of Cordova

Al-muṣḥaf alladhī yunsab ilā ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān; '…the copy of the Qur'ān attributed to the hand of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān'. By the sixth/twelfth century the 'Qur'ān of ʿUthmān' had become the pride of the citizens of Cordova and was the subject of some investigation by several mediaeval Muslim scholars, though in the final analysis, its origin remained uncertain. According to al-Idrīsī (d. 560/1165), it contained four folios which came from the Qur'ān, which ʿUthmān was reading when he was assassinated and bore traces of his blood. Ibn Bashkuwāl (d.578/1183) related that it was one of the four copies of the Holy Text sent by ʿUthmān to Makka, Kufa, Basra and Damascus, and probably that of the latter city. This was contradicted by Abū'l-Qūsim [al-Qāsim ibn Yūsuf ?] al-Tujībī of Ceuta, who said that he had seen the Damascus copy with his own eyes in 657/1259. [This date does not tally if al-Qāsīm al-Tujībī lived 670–730/1271–1329.]

He further stated that the manuscript of Makka was still in that city in the *Qubbat al-yahūdīya*. He suggested that it might be the copy that had been sent to Basra or Kufa. Ibn Marzūq (711–781/1311–1379) remarks that in any event, ʿUthmān did not copy any of the four manuscripts. According to a note written on the cover of an early Qur'ān copy found in Madina, he formed a committee of four scribes to carry out the tasks. He says that the script of the Madina and Cordova copies differed. Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217) said that the manuscript of Makka lacked many folios and had been copied by Zayd ibn Thābit—one of the committee—18 years after the death of the Prophet in 11/632.

The nineteenth-century historian Al-Salāwī says that the Cordovan manuscript passed from hand to hand within the Umayyad family and the people of al-Andalus and that it remained in al-Andalus until the time of the Almohads. It was taken by Abū Yaʿqūb and Abū Saʿīd, the two sons of the Almohad ruler Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Mu'min II ibn ʿAlī (524–558/ 1130–1163) in *Shawwāl* 552/November 1157 and placed in the Great Mosque of Marrakesh. Its later history was given in considerable detail by al-Maqqarī and al-Salāwī. It was lost at sea off

Tunis in a storm when the ship carrying it sank in 750/1349–1350 on its way back to Merinid Morocco.

The events related in the *History* concerning the Qur'ān of Uthmān occurred in 263/876–877. This is apparently the earliest mention of the manuscript's existence in al-Andalus. Copies of the Qur'ān attributed to the hands of ʿUthmān, ʿAli, Husayn and Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, and the various Companions of the Prophet, were—and are—almost as common as fragments of the 'True Cross', so it need not surprise us that one appeared in Cordova in the early years of Umayyad rule. We have little idea of the format of the manuscript or the script employed, only that it was written, according to one account, in a script that differed from the copy in Madina, which was in a script used in the Yemen. The surviving 'relic copies' are all in hands later than the time of the Orthodox Caliphs, and vary in size and number of volumes. Although it is most unlikely that the Cordovan copy dated from the time of the Orthodox Caliphs, it could conceivably have been a late first/seventh-early second/ eighth century copy. According to al-Salāwī, however, the Qur'ān of ʿUqba ibn Nāfiʿ (*al-Muṣḥaf al-'Uqbānī*) was copied in Quairouan from the (same?) *Muṣḥaf al-'Uthmānī*, which if true, would date its existence in the Maghreb to *circa* 670–683 CE. In 1155/1742 the *Muṣḥaf al-ʿUqbānī* was sent with 22 other Qur'āns to Makka as a gift of Sultan ʿAbdallāh III (1141–1171/1729–1757) of Morocco.

According to al-Idrīsī, Ibn Bashkuwāl and al-Maqqarī, in the twelfth century the *Muṣḥaf al-'Uthmānī* was kept in the treasury of the Great Mosque of Cordova, in one of the five chambers to the right of the *miḥrāb* of al-Ḥakam II. Each Friday it was brought by two officials of the Mosque, preceded by a third and placed on the lectern *(kursī).* After prayers it was returned to the treasury. Whether it was kept in the Mosque during the time of the emir Muḥammad, or in the Palace is unknown. According to Ibn ʿIdhārī, the first treasury *(makhzan/bayt al-māl)* of the mosque was built during the time of al-Mundhir (273–275/886–888), some ten years after the first mention of the manuscript, possibly to house—among other things—the Qur'ān. Its main purpose was to guard money generated by endowments. This was demolished when the mosque was extended by al-Ḥakam II.

The story of ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdallāh's oath on the Qur'ān of ʿUthmān is also recounted by al-Khushanī, where the judge was made to swear on a Qur'ān small enough to fit in the sleeve of the messenger (*fatā min aṣḥāb al-rasā'il*) who came to him. In this account the manuscript is not called 'the Qur'ān of ʿUthmān'. We have to bear in mind that al-Khushanī's account may be the correct one, since if the Qur'ān of ʿUthmān had been used, it seems surprising that he would not have mentioned this, and his description of the manuscript is quite specific.

So it may be that a later editor or interpolator of the text inserted this reference to the Qur'ān of ʿUthmān *after* this treasured relic appeared in Cordova on the assumption that for so serious a matter—the impeachment of the chief judge—nothing less than the Qur'ān of ʿUthmān would have been used. But the earliest reference to the manuscript's existence in Cordova seems to be in the sixth/twelfth century by al-Idrīsī. If al-Salāwī is to be taken at his word, the manuscript was in the hands of the Umayyad family before that date; but how soon before we do not know. This raises the possibility that the text of the *History* was still being added to two centuries after the death of Ibn al-Qūṭīya Fagnan (1901–1904) ii, 246; al-Maqqarī (1968) i, 605–615; al-Salāwī (1954) ii, 127–30; al-Idrīsī (1970–1984) v; 564, 577; Broadhurst (1952) 201, 279; al-Khushanī (1952) 122–123; Shafaat 2005. See also *Introduction,* 33–34.

Appendix v The location of *Ṣakhrat Jawdhārish,* west of Bobastro

This identity of the 'rock of *Jawdhārish'* (fully vocalised in the Paris manuscript, folio 40 recto, but unvocalised in Abenalcotia/Ribera 1926) to the west of Bobastro should give a clue as to the location of the site of Bobastro. *Jawdhārish* must be the place mentioned twice by Ibn Ḥayyān, near Álora, which is written slightly differently in each case: *F.rdhālish* and *F.rdhārish.* In the Paris manuscript the *fā'* with sublinear point=*jīm;* rā'=dhāl. The letters *s* and *l* are always interchangeable in the Romance languages and dialects of the peninsula: so *F.rdhālish,* in the course of time and copyists' mis-readings, has become *Jawdhārish*.

In his examination of the literary and topographical evidence for the exact location of Bobastro Vallvé refers to *Qardhārish* as one of several fortresses belonging to Ibn Ḥafṣūn The others are Najarish (unidentified) and Ulīyas (Olías) and *Shant Bīṭar* (Santopitar). He identifies it with Cerro de la Caldera, south-east of the Sierra del Rey. But is seems likely that *F.ardālish, Qardārish, Jawdhārish* all refer to the same place and that is [F]Ardales. Morover, Ardales lies west of the (probably) true site of Bobastro near Riogordo.

Dozy also identifies *Jawdhārish* with Ardales, because Ardales, he notes, was formerly written 'Hardeles'. His reasoning is slightly different to mine, but it should be remembered that an initial letter *f* often changed to an *h* as mediaeval Spanish underwent various changes: *fijo-hijo; façer-haçer.* Finally Ibn Ḥayyān says that Badr in his campaign of 307/919–920 against Ibn Ḥafṣūn went from Álora to *Qasr Bunayra,* Casarbonela, to *S.kur* (?) and *F.rdhālish.* This route would have taken him *west* of Álora to Ardales, which strategically makes sense if he wanted to destroy Ibn Ḥafṣūn's outlying fortresses to the west of Bobastro—or south if it was located at the site in the Mesas de la Villaverde.

Even if Vallvé is correct in his relocation of Bobastro near Riogordo, the Mesas de la Villaverde site was an important one, on a natural mountain fortress, with a large rock-cut Mozarabic church. ۴ Abd al-Raḥmān III would have wanted to neutralize it. It may be the place mentioned in the *Anales Palatinos,* as *Aqwa Māra* (Agua Amarga?) In 317/929 Abdal-Raḥmān also destroyed the *Castillo de Turón,* 5 km west of Ardales, Dozy (1881) 3rd i, 320; Vallvé (1965)

157, note 49; Ibn Ḥayyān (1979, 100/153; 119/184; Corriente and Viguera (1981) 100/123; 118/142; López Guzmán (2002) 780–782; 805–807; 808–810; 846–847; and personal communication from J.Vallvé concerning the identification of the Mesas de la Villaverde site.

Appendix vi The identity of Abū'l-Faḍl ibn Muḥ(ammad) … al-Wazzān

There is a possibility, albeit a slender one, that Abū'l-Faḍl ibn Muḥ(ammad) …al-Wazzān (al-Wazzānī) may be the famous Moroccan scholar al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Wazzān al-Fāṣī, better known to history as 'Leo Africanus'. The damaged part of the inscription on folio 118 recto needs to be properly examined under ultra-violet light, to confirm or refute this. I merely offer the suggestion here that it is a task worth doing, if only to discount the possibility. The first inscription on folio 2 recto reads: *Intaqala'l-milk Abī'l-Faḍl al-faqīr*: 'Ownership transferred to the wretched Abū'l-Faḍl. The second is much fuller and states: *Al-ḥamdulillāh, malaka hādhā'l-kitāb bi'l-shirā' al-ṣaḥīḥ ʿubayd Allāh wa-aqall ʿabīdihi Abū'l-Faḍl ibn Muḥammad ibn…*(?)*…al-Wazzān/al-Wazzānī(?)…ghafara lahu wa-li-wālidayhi wali-jamīʿ al-muslimīn, wa-ṣallā Allāh ʿalā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ʿalā ālihi wa-ṣuḥbihi wa-sallam taslīman* 'This book was legally purchased by meanest slave of God and the least of his slaves Abū'l-Faḍl ibn…Muḥ…(?)…al-Wazzān/al-Wazzānī (?)…. Forgive him and his parents, and all Muslims. God bless our Lord Muḥammad, his Family and Companions, and grant them peace.'

Al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Wazzān al-Gharnāṭī al-Fāṣī was born in Granada in the final decade of the ninth/fifteenth century, after the fall of the city to the Christian rulers of a finally united Spain. We know little of his life apart from what he tells us in his *magnum opus,* the *Libro de la Cosmographia [sic] et Geographia de Affrica.* His family emigrated to Fez, where he was brought up. He travelled with his uncle in Africa as a young man and visited Constantinople, Beirut and Baghdad in 1507–1508 CE). He states that he was also in Egypt, Iran and even further East (so he claimed).

He became a roving ambassador for the Waṭṭāsid ruler Muhammad II called *al-Burtuqālī,* Sultan of Fez (875–931/1470–1525), a position that took him to Constantinople again and to Egypt, during the Ottoman invasion of 922/1517. While returning to Tunis from Egypt, he fell into the hands of Spanish pirates, who eventually gave him as a gift to Pope Leo X. (1513–1521 CE) in 1518 CE. He became a Christian and took the name Giovanni Leone de Medici, after his patron Pope Leo, but evidently preferred an Arabic version of the name calling himself, Yuḥannā al-Asad al-Gharnāṭī.

During the years he spent in Italy al-Ḥasan/Giovanni Leone/Yuḥannā wrote several works in Italian, including one on history. His most important book was his *Libro de la Cosmographia [sic] et Geographia de Affrica*. He wrote the manuscript in Italian in 1526 and it was later printed in Venice in 1554 under a new title *Descrittione della' Africa,* after being edited by Giovanni Battista Ramusio. But in addition there was a grammar of Arabic, including a treatise on metrics, a collection of biographies of famous men—Muslims, Christians and Jews-, a work on Malikite Law and a work on Islamic history, *La brevita de la croniche mucamettani,* evidentally a summary or epitome. Some of these have survived, but the history is unfortunately lost. All must have been composed with little assistance from any original sources, since there were few Arabic manuscripts in the Papal Library at this stage.

Al-Ḥasan stayed in Rome until it was sacked by troops of Carlos V, the Holy Roman Emperor, in 1527, and seems to have left shortly afterwards, never to be heard of again. There is some fairly reliable evidence that he went to Tunis and died there in *circa* 1550 CE. But some place him back in Morocco, dying there in 944/1537. Wherever he went in North Africa he would have resumed his Muslim name al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Wazzān al-Gharnāṭī al-Fāṣī. But if he was the purchaser and owner of the *Tarīkh Ibn al-Qūṭīya,* why did he make yet another change to his name? Why did he call himself Abū'l-Faḍl ibn Muḥammad instead of al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad'? The explanation is presumably that he married—or perhaps remarried—after his escape, and his first-born son was called 'al-Faḍl'. Thus in accordance with Arab tradition he would have been called by the *kunya* Abū'l-Faḍl '(the father of al-Faḍl). He would still have retained his name 'al-Ḥasan' but have been more commonly called by his kunya Abū'l-Faḍl instead of, or equally as much as 'al-Ḥasan'

The translator of the Spanish version of the *Descrittione della' Africa* of 1940, came to a similar conclusion when he identified al-Ḥasan with an 'Abū'l-Qūsim ibn Aḥmad ibn Zīyād al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī, who died in Fez in 944/1537. It is unlikely that this identification is correct however: al-Ḥasan would not have dropped his father's name and introduced that of an earlier ancestor, his great-grandfather, because Arab names normally include only two ancestors, not a third, which would have been the case here if 'Zīyād' had been his great-grandfather.

There is one important point that we have to consider. The inscriptions in the *Tarīkh Ibn al-Qūṭīya* are not in the hand of al-Ḥasan as it appears in his signatures in two Arabic manuscripts that he examined in Rome while still a captive. We could account for this by assuming that, if the owner was in fact Al-Ḥasan/Leo, his hand must have

changed and matured with the passage of time. He wrote his name in the two Arabic manuscripts in Rome around 1518 and left Italy around 1527. So the inscription in The Bibliothèque Nationale must date from a decade and perhaps even more than a decade later: *Descripción* 1952 sección 6(2), no. 5, viii and xiii: Masonen (2002); Davis (2008) figs. 1 and 3.

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Index

ʿAbbās/Wahba, Oppas/Oppa 22, 50, 55 n.10
ʿAbbās, al-, ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Marwānī 86
ʿAbbās, al-, ibn al-Aḥnaf 97
ʿAbbās ibn Nāṣih 88, 93 n.15
ʿAbbās, al-, ibn al-Walīd 62
ʿAbdallāh ibn Ḥamīr /Ḥamīd 92 n.6
ʿAbdallāh ibn Ḥārith 94 n.32, 116
ʿAbdallāh ibn Khālid 67, 76, 78 n.7, 128 n.45
ʿAbdallāh ibn Kulayb ibn Thaʿlaba 107 n.40
ʿAbdallāh ibn Muʿammal al-Nadīm *al-Yamāma* 112, 126 n.15, 143
ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad I 111, 12–13, 113, 133–8, 139 n.20
ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḍar 135
ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad al-Zajjālī 133
ʿAbdallāh ibn Sinān 101
ʿAbdallāh ibn Umayya ibn Yazīd 99, 115, 116, 117–18
ʿAbdallāh ibn Yazīd 59
ʿAbdallāh ibn Yūnus 26
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwān 67, 77 n.5
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr 53
ʿAbd al-Barr ibn Hārūn 105 n.20
ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd 104 n.18
ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Mughīth 85, 86, 99 n.7, 111
ʿAbd al-Malik ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Umayya ibn Yazīd 133, 134
ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb 36;
Fatḥ al-Andalus 36–7;
Universal History 36;
Ibn Abī'l-Riqāʿ, Yūsuf al-Maghamī 37
ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Umar al-Marwānī 139 n.10
ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Qaṭn al-Fihrī 60, 61
ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Sulaymān ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Umawī *Ibn al-Qūṭīya* 17, 30, 45 n.81, appendix ii
ʿAbd al-Mu'min II 33, appendix iv
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I 50–1, 68–77
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II 97–103, 104 n.12, 112, 113, 114, 123
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III III 140, 142 n.2
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Ghāfiqī 60;
descendants of 60, 112
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAziz al-Tujībī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAlqama al-Lakhmī 61, 80 n.40
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ghānim 99, 104 n.18
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj 35, 127 n.33, 137, 139 n.19
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Marwān ibn Yūnus *al-Jillīqī* 31, 118–19, 127 n.38, 128 n.43
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Rustam 99
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Shamir 98, 99, 104 n.10, 126 n.20, 144 n.20

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Umayya ibn ʿĪsā ibn Shuhayd *Duḥaym* 133
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUqba 72
ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Iskandarānī 111

ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Mughīth 83, 85 n.7
Abū …ʿĀmir ibn Muʿāwīya ibn Zīyād al-Lakhmī 130
Abū ʿAbda Ḥassān ibn Mālik 68, 76, 78 n.9

Abū ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿIṭṭāb 34
Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Bazīʿ ibn Waḍḍāḥ 35, 81 n.50, 91, 94 n.32, 125 n.7
Abū ʿAkrama, Jaʿfar ibn Yazīd 70
Abū ʿAlāqa al-Judhāmī 68, 78 n.10
Abū ʿAli al-Qālī 27

Abū ʿAmr, son of ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdallāh 109
Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad *al-Qubbāshī* 45 n.89
Abū Bakr Yaḥyā ibn Hudhayl al-Tamīmī 27
Abū Bassām 90–1,appendix iii
Abū Furayʿa 69, 78 n.16
Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar al-Ballūṭī 33, 93 n.23

Abū'l-Faḍl ibn Muḥ… al-Wazzān / al-Wazzānī (?);
Leo Africanus(?) 3–4, appendix vi
Abū 'l-Makhshī, ʿʿĀṣim ibn Zayd ibn Yaḥyā 74, 75, 81 n.51
Abū'l-Mufarrij 113
Abū'l-Ṣabbāḥ al-Yaḥṣubī 55, 68, 69, 70, 72

Abū Marwān al-Ẓarīf 71
Abū Mūsā al-Hawwārī 74
Abū Sahl al-Iskandarānī 141
Abū Saʿīd al-Qawmis *al-Kātib* 37, 38, 42 n.28, 50
Abū Ṣāliḥ, notable of Muḥammad I 134

Abū Sulaymān ibn ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣūn 121, 140
Abū ʿUmar ibn Bashīr 13, 85 n. 11, 97, 104 n.4
Abū ʿUmar Muʿāwīya ibn Abī Aḥmad ibn ʿUthmān al-Khaḍrī 83, 85 n.9
Abū ʿUqba al-Aswār/al-Iswār ibn ʿUqba ibn Ḥassān al-Naṣrī 13, 97, 104 n.5
Abū ʿUrwa 130
Abū ʿUthmān, ʿUbaydallāh ibn ʿUthmān 35, 67, 69, 76, 77, 77 n.6
Abū Yaḥyā ibn *(sic.)* Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tujībī al-Saraqusṭī 12, 13, 32, 33, 140

Abū'l-Yaqẓān Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh 120, 128 n.47

Abyārī, al-, Ibrāhīm 5, 21, 57 n.24;
edition of 1982 21, appendix i
Achila/Aguila 54 n.3

Adab al-kātib 26, 44 n.73
Aḍḥā ibn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf 115, 127 n.32
ahl al-dhimma 65 n.24
Aḥmad al-ʿAbbās ibn Mahdī al-Andalusī al-Fāsī *al-Qūwayṭī* 44 n.68

Aḥmad ibn al-Barā' ibn Malik al-Qurashī 11, 12, 32, 138
Aḥmad ibn Bishr al-Aghbas 26

Aḥmad ibn Hāshim 133

Aḥmad ibn Khālid 11, 17, 26, 35

Aḥmad ibn Maslama ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Ḥabīb ibn ʿUmayr 35, 36, 121
Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥudayr 94 n.29, 140,

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā *al-Rāzī al-ta'rīkhī* 5, 39
Aḥmad ibn Zīyād 13, 14, 97
Aḥmad ibn Zīyād ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 104 n.7

akhbār 10, 28, 36, 40, 54 n.2;
akhbārī 5, 11, 25, 31, 54 n.2
Akhbār majmūʿa 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 19, 35, 43 n.49, 77 n.6, 79 n.31, 81 n.55, 128 n.51
Akhbār mulūk al-Andalus 46 n.110
akhrās, plʿkhurs 103, 108 n.47
ʿAlā', al-, ibn Mughīth al-Judhāmī 73
ālāt 102
ʿAlī ibn Abī Shayba 26
ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib 88
ʿAlī ibn Zīyād al-Qūṭī 44 n.66
Alexandria 15, 32, 89, 101
Alfonso II 107 n.40
Alfonso III 107 n.37, 119, 127 ns.39, 40, 128 n.45
Algeciras, *al-Jazīra* 52, 61, 88, 120
Alhambra 58 n.1
Al ʿImrān, Qur'ān, sūra iii 77, 122, 125 n.11
Aljarafe de Sevilla, *alṢharaf* 68, 130
Almodóvar del Rio, *al-Mudawwar* 77, 81 n.59
Almund, Almundo/Olemundo 22, 49, 50, 54 n.3
Almuñecar, al-*Munakkab* 69
ʿAlqama ibn Ghīyāth al-Lakhmī 68
ʿĀmil 82. 123. 129 n.57;
ʿāmil al-ʿushūr 122
amīn 119
Amīn, al-, ʿAbbāsid Caliph 103
ʿĀmir ibn ʿAli 72
ʿĀmir al-Qurashī al-ʿĀmiri 68, 70, 78 n.12
ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdallāh *al-qubaʿa* 33, 109, 110, 125 n.4, 150
ʿAmrūs *al-muwallad* 86–7
ʿAnbasa ibn Suḥaym al-Kalbī 59
ʿAnṭar/a ibn Shaddād 121, 129 n.54
Antuña, M. 41 n.6
Aqwa Burṭūra Agua Portora 61, 64 n. 18
Arab contingent of Khurasan 61
ʿArafa 70
Aragón 32, 129 n.61
Aʿraj, al-ibn Maṭrūḥ Abū ʿAbdallāh 122

Archidona, *Urjudhūna* 69,78 n.22
Ardo 54 n.3
ʿarīf 121, 128 n.51, 136
ʿArīf, al- al-Tujībī 121
Arrabal/*al-Rabaḍ* 32, 63 n.6;
revolt of 89, 90, 91, 108 n.47
Arṭabās /Arṭabāsh, Ardabasto 22, 37, 38, 49, 50, 54 n.3, 55 ns.9, 10, 75–7

Ascalon. *Ashqalūn* 50
ʿĀṣim al-ʿUryān 71

Aslam ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz 17,26
Astorga, *Usturqa* 52
Auta, Cortijo de 128 n.44

a'wān 138
Awzāʿi, al-, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 80 n.48
ʿayba 65 n.21
Aydūn 110, 116, 123
Ayyūb ibn Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī 59

Babash/Yabash 79 n.31
Baetica 55 n.14;
other Visigothic provinces 54 n.4
Badajoz, *Baṭalyaws* 36, 119, 127 ns.38, 39, 43, 142 n.9s
Badr ibn Aḥmad 128 n.50, 137–8, 139 n.20, appendix v
Badr 68–9

Baena, *Bayāna* 105 n.17
Baghdad 34, 81

Bāʿish Bavax 71
Bakrī, al-, ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz 128 n.43
Balj ibn Bishr al-Qushayrī 60–1, 64 n.16
Bansh, Viñas 72

Banū ʿAbd al-Malik 134
Banū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiqī 64 n.9,111
Banū Abī'l-Yaqẓān 121

Banū Abī Ṣafwān al-Qurashī 13, 14, 98, 104 n.5
Banū Aḍḥā 68, 78 n.11

Banū ʿAqīl 69
Banū Āṣim 71
Banū Baḥr 70

Banū Basīl 104 n.16
Banū Fahd 72
Banū Ḥajjāj 51, 127 n.33
Banū Ḥazj al-Jurz 51
Banū Ḥassān 68, 78 n.11
Banū Ḥazm 76
Banū Ḥudayr 91
Banū Ibn Sāliḥ 15, 101

Banū Ilyās 69
Banū'l-Khadāʾ 89
Banū'l-Khalīʿ 69, 72
Banū'l-Qūṭīya 23, 44 n.68, 51, appendix ii

Banū'l-Wazīr 126 n.13
Banū Khālid 120
Banū Lakhm 23
Banū Layth 81 n.50, 106 n.26
Banū Makhzūm 59
Banū Maslama 51, 128 n.50
Banū Muṭhīr 85 n.7
Banū Mūsā 111, 126 n.13
Banū Nādir 91

Banū Qasī 12, 31, 32, 89, 93 n.24, 116, 121, 140
Banū Sābiq 70
Banū al-Salīm 70
Banū Salmān 71
Banū Salūl 60
Banū Sayyid 51
Banū Sharāḥīl 13, 97
Banū Shuhayd 80 n.41
Banū ʻUmar 68, 78 n.11
Banū Umayya 50, 60, 61, 62, 63, 67, 115
Banū ʻUthmān al-Jayyānī 104 n.7
Banū Wānsūs 67, 72, 77 n.5
Banū Ziyād 13, 67, 78 n.10, 84, 84 n.5, 97, 104 n.7
Banū Ziyād al-Shadhūnīyūn 68
Banū Ziyād al-Qurṭubīyūn 83
Baqīy ibn Makhlad 81 n.50, 110, 125 ns.7, 8
Barā', al-, ibn Mālik al-Qurashī 12, 13, 138
Barbary Corsairs 9
bawwāb pl. *ūn* 76, 91
bay'a 11
Bazīʻa, the *Imām* 38, 39, 141
Beja, *Bāja* 35, 57 n.27, 63, 72, 73, 86
Bembézar, Rio, *Wādī Amnīs/Amanbīs* 55 n.16, 72, 73, 80 n.42
Benilaiz, *Banī'Layth* 15, 100
Berbers 39, 59, 63, 77 n.158, 127 n.31;
  language 72 :
  tribal groupings 81 n.55, 107 n.38,
  Butr and *Barānis* 71, 102, 107 n.38;
  revolts 39, 60–1, 62
Biblioteca Nacional de España 20;
  Ms 4996/Gg 142/CXX 41 n.1, 20
Bibliothèque Nationale de France 1, 9;
  Ms arabe 1867/706/764 1;
  alkh, meaning 5–6, appendix i;
  blank spaces 4, 5;
  description 2–4;
  hā', meaning of 6–7;
  key words 4;
  paper 2;
  title 8, 19, 20, 25, 26;
  significant words 4;
  watermarks 2

Bibliothèque Royale 3, 8, 9, 42 n.22
Bīla Nūba, Villa Nueva 70
Binna, Peña 59
Bishr ibn Ṣafwān 59
Bizint/Birnat, Bernado/Vicente 88
Bobastro, *Bubashtir/Bubashtru* 18, 120, 121, 128 n.44, 136, 140, appendix v;
  location 128 n.44;
  Vallvé's researches 128 n.44;

Postuero 128 n.44
Briquet, C.M. 2
bushūn 112, 126 n.18
Byzantine emperor 109

Cabra, *Qabra* 34, 133
Calahora 92 n.5
Campiña de Córdoba, *al-Qambanīya* 123, 129 n.58
Cardonne, D.D. 19;
Histoire de l'Afrique et de Espagne etc. 19
Carmona, *Qarmūna* 14–16, 57 n.27, 73;
Bāb Ishbīlīya 73
Carteya, Ancient *Carteia* 52, 57 n.25
Castle *qal'a* of Ḥazm at Jaén 76
Catoira, Galicia 107 n.37
Ceuta, *Sabta* 57 n.23, 93 n.19
Chalmeta, P. 5, 25, 31, 36, 41 n.2
Charles the Bald 109
Cherbonneau, J.A. 1;
partial editons/translations 1853, 1856 19, 21
Choro, El near Ardales 128 n.44
Christians in al-Andalus 38, 39, 55 ns.11, 12, 57 n.29, 65 n.24, 110, 126 n.29
Chrystis, A. 38, 41 n.7, 45 n.84
Clenardus, N. 9,
client, *mawlā*, pl. *mawālī* 63 n.2
Codera, F. 20
Coimbra, *Qulumrīya* 127
Colbert, J-B. 9,
Collins, R. 57 n.23
Constantina, *Firish* 100, 106 n.24
Constantine, Algeria 1;
library of Sid Hamouda ben El ferkoun 1, 41 n.6
Cordova, *Qurṭuba* 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 49, 50, 52, 56 n.22, 57 n.27, 59, 61, 63, 68, 70, 73, 74, 75, 77 n.1, 103 n.3, 110, 119, 122, 136, 137, 140, 142 n.4;
Bāb al-qanṭara 63 n.7, 113, 114;
Bāb al-ṣudda 94 n.3, 114;
Bridge 63 n.7;
cemetery of al-Quraysh 22, 27, 82;
chamber of civil governor;
dār al-rahā' in 121, 129 n. 53;
Duwayra prison 91, 118, 127 n.35;
madīna 134;
al-Muṣāra 71, 79 n.33;
Puerte del Puente 63 n.7;
Shabulār 71, 79 n.35
Cordova, *Bāb al-ṣudda palace* 55 n.14, 94 n.30;
Bāb al-jinān 113, 94 n.30;
dār al-kāmil 63 n.7, 112, 126 n.21;
dār/bayt al-wuzarā' 103, 117
Cordova, great mosque 33, 35, 71, 84 n.6, 99, 101, 105 n.19, 110, 125 n.11, appendix iv;
maqṣūra 125 n. 11;

San Vicente 80 n.30
Cordova *ḥādithat alḥayj* 32, 88–9
Cresswell, K.A.C 84 n.6, 105 n.19, 125 n.11
Crete, *Iqrīṭish* 32, 89, 93 n.23
Croníca de Don Prudencio 36, 45 n. 107
Croníca del Moro Rasis 36

Ḍabbī, al-, ʿAbd al-Wāhid ibn Isḥāq al-Munajjim 82;
Urjūza fī ʿilm al-nujūm 84 n.3
Ḍaḥḥāk al-, ibn Qays al-Fihrī 70
Damascus 22, 33, 39, 53, 63, 80 n.39, appendix iii
darb 97, 103 n.3
Daysam ibn Isḥāq 135–6
Denmark 105 n.22
De Slane 9,
Derenbourg, L. 43 n.57
dhayl 17
Diadié, I. 44 n.68
dīnār 80 n.36
dirham 80 n.36
Dipy/Diyab, P. 8;
Catalogue de manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque du Roi 8
Dozy, R.P.A. 10, 21, 36, 81 n.58, 106 ns.27, 29, 107 ns.40, 43, 126 n.26, 127 n.34, 128 n.51, appendix v;
Dūankīr, Doñeguero 78 n.7, 120, 128 n.45

Écija, *Istijja* 36, 52, 57 n.27
Eclipse of 218/833 101, 106 n.32
Egypt accounts 56 n.22
Escorial, the 10
Estepa, *Istiba* 136, 139 n. 17

Fagnan, E. 41 n.6, 108 n.45, 127 ns.35, 42, 131 n.4;
partial translation of 1924 21
Fajj Ṭāriq Ṭāriq's Pass 52
Fajj Mūsā, Mūsā's Pass 53
Fakhr 112
famine of 260/873–874 118
Faraj, al-, ibn Kanāna ibn Nizār al-Kanānī 97, 104 n.4

Fargad ibn ʿAwn/'Awf al-ʿAdwānī 70, 79 n.27
fatā, pl. fityān 92 n.11
fatā al-kabīr 92 n.11
Fatḥ, al-, ibn Muḥammad ibn
ʿUbaydallāh al-Qaysī *Maṭmaḥ* 28;
al-anfus 28
Fierro, M.I. 1, 5, 10, 29, 30, 34, 37, 40, 42 n.32, 43 ns.53, 67, 64 n.10, 79 n.32, 84 n.5, 85 n.11, 93 n.18, 104 ns.7, 18, 128 n.45,
Fī'l-fatḥ 'alā'l-majūs 106 n.33
firāsh appendix iii
Four Gospels 51

Fujayl ibn Abī Muslim al-Shadhūnī
al-ʾarabī al-sharīf 45, 136–7
Funt Furb, Fonte Forbo 120, 128 n.48
Furṭūn ibn Mūsā 129 n.60

Galicia, *Jallīqīya* 50, 55 n.10
Gaulpin, G. 9,
Gayangos, Pḍe 20;
edition of 1868 20
Ghāzī, al-, ibn Qays 74, 80 n.48
Ghirbīb ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Thaqafī
al-Ṭulayṭulī 86, 92 n.6
Ghīṭisha/Witiza 22, 49
ghulām, pl. *ghilmān* 92 n.11
Gómez Moreno, M. 84 n.6
Granada, *Gharnaṭa* 8, 9, 71, appendix vi
Guadajoz, *Wādī Shūsh* 63
Guadalajara, *Wādīʾl-ḥijjāra* 129 n.59
Guadalete, *Wādī Lakuh/Laku* 51, 56 n.9
Guadalquivir, *al-Wādī al-kabīr* 63 n.7, 70, 83
Guadiana, *Wādī Ānā* 119
Guadix, *Wādī Āsh* 68
Guazalete, *Wādī Salīṭ* 93 n.13

Ḥabāb al-Zuhrī 78 n.12
Ḥabīb ibn Abī ʿUbayda ibn ʿUqba ibn
ʿNāfiʿ al-Fihrī 53
Ḥabīb ibn ʿUmayr ibn Saʿīd al-Lakhmī 51, appendix ii
Ḥabīb al-, ibn Zīyād 123, 138 n.4
Ḥafṣ ibn Albar/Alvar /Alvaro 50, 55 n.12
Ḥafṣ ibn Basīl 130
Ḥafṣ ibn Maymūn 81 n.55
Ḥafṣ ibn ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣūn 141, 142 n.8
ḥājib 81 n.53
Ḥajjāj ibn ʿUmar 116
Ḥakam I al- 86–92, 92 n.1, 102
Ḥakam II al- 27, 39
ḥalqa 29, 54 n.2
Ḥamdūn ibn Basīl al-ashhab 118
Ḥāmid al-Zajjālī, Abū Marwān Ḥāmid
ʿal-Zajjālī 115–17, 127 n.31
Ḥanẓala ibn Ṣafwān al-Kalbī 62
harrāʾi, pl. *harrāʾiyūn* 79 n.34
Ḥarrānī, al- Yūnus ibn Aḥmad
ʿal-Harrānī 112, 126 n.17
Harthama ibn Ayman /Aʿyan 89
Hārūn al-Rashīd, ʿAbbāsid Caliph 89, 93 n.22
Ḥasan ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Zubayrī/
al-Zubaydī 26
Ḥasan al-, ibn Hāniʾ, Abū Nuwās 75, 81 n.52, 121

Hāshim, Abū Khālid Hāshim ibn ʿAbd al-ʾAzīz 109, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 121, 123, 125 n.2, 127 ns.40, 42, 128 n.45, 130, 133
ḥaṣṣār 103
Hawwārīyyīn, al-, Alorines 73
Ḥaytham al-, ibn ʿAbd al-Kāfī 60
Ḥaywa ibn Malāmis al-Madhḥijī 51, 56 n.16
Herbolet, B. d' 9,
Hernández, F. 84 n.6
Hishām, Umayyad Caliph 50, 51
Hishām 182–4, 84 n.1
Hishām II 25
Homs 34, 55 n. 16, 63
Hostages 121, 129 n.53, 137
Houdas, O. 1, 19–20, 41 n.8;
partial edition /translation of 1889 21
Hubert, Ettienne 9,
Ḥudayr/Judayr 91, 94 n.29
Ḥudhayfa ibn al-Aḥwaṣ al-Qaysī 60, 64 n.8
Huesca, *Washqa* 86, 92 n.7
Hulal 71
Ḥumayd al-Zanātī 60
Ḥumaydī, al-, Muḥammad ibn Abī Naṣr 25;
Jadhwat al-muqtabis 44 n.74
Ḥurr, al-, ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿal-Thaqafī 57 n.28
Ḥusām ibn Ḍurār/Abū'l-Khaṭṭār ʿal-Kalbī 62–3, 65 n.22, 59, 67
Ḥusayn al-, ibn al-Dajn al-ʿUqaylī 68

Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf 114, 115, 126 n.27
Ibn Abī ʿAbda. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad 78 n.9, 115, 133, 135, 136, 137, 139 n.18
Ibn Abī Furayʿa 115
Ibn Abī'l-Fayyāḍ 10;
Kitāb al-ʿibar 10, 42 n.28

Ibn Abī'l-Shuʿarāʾ 120
Ibn Abī'l-Walīd al-Aʿraj 26, 44 n.80
Ibn al-ʿAfīf, Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAfīf al-Ta'rīkhī 22:
Kitāb al-iḥtifāl fī ta'rīkh aʿlām al-rijāl 28, 43 n.65, 45 n.89
Ibn al-Faraḍī, ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf 25;
Ta'rikh 'ulamā' al-Andalus 26, 27, 28
Ibn Asyad 115
Ibn Bashkuwāl. Abū'l-Qūsim Khalaf 30, appendix iv;
Kitāb *al-ṣila* 43 n.65
Ibn Bāqir 122
Ibn Basīl *al-ghammāz* 99, 104 n. 16
Ibn Bukht, Yūsuf ibn Bukht 68, 75, 78 n.13, 99
Ibn Daysam al-Ishbīlī 134
Ibn Ḥayyān Abū Marwān Ḥayyān ibn Khalaf 11–18;
al-Muqtabis fī akhbār ahl al-Andalus 7, 41 n.6, 45 n.92, 46 n.118, 106 ns.32, 33
Ibn ʿIdhārī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad;

Kitāb al-bayān al-mughrib 84 n.6
Ibn al-Kardabūs, Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abī'l-Qāsim 56 n.21; *Ta'rīkh al-Andalus* 10, 42 n.28
Ibn al-Khaddāʾ 88–9, 93 n.18
Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad 45 ns 84, 89; *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* 27, 43 n.65
Ibn al-Qūṭīya Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar;
ancestry 22–4, appendix ii;
teachers of 26–7;
his life and work 24–8;
Kitāb taṣrīf al-afʿāl 26;
Maqṣūr wa'l-mamdūd 26;
Ta'rīkh Ibn al-Qūṭīya/. *Ta'rīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus* 25–6;
dates in 31–2;
earlier versions of 18–19;
editions of 19–21;
editor of 29–31;
received text of 10–18;
translations of 21–2;
sources 34–7;
written 36–7;
oral 34–6
Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt 105 n.20
Ibn al-Ṣaffār 134, 139 n.11
Ibn al-Salīm, Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Salīm 79 n.26, 133, 135
Ibn al-Salīm, Saʿīd ibn al-Mundhir ibn al-Salīm 79 n.26, 140
Ibn al-Shammās 88
Ibn al-Shabbāṭ 10
Ibn Marwān al-Jillīqī 140, 142 n.9
Ibn Masṭana, Saʿīd ibn Walīd 136, 139 n.16
Ibn Murīn 115
Ibn Nādir 91
Ibn Zarqūn, Abū'l-Ḥusayn ibn Zarqūn 93 n.19
Ibrāhīm ibn al-ʿAbbas al-Marwani 13
Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj 134, 136, 137, 138 n.9, 139 n.15
Ibrāhīm ibn ʿIsā ibn Muzāhim *Ibn al-Qūṭīya* 24, appendix ii
Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad I 141, 142 n.10
Ifrīqīya 51, 55 n.13, 59, 60, 61, 62
ijāza 17
Ilbīra, Elvira 63, 68, 69, 71, 115, 127 n.32, 136
Ilfuntīn, Frontil 69, 78 n.18
Iñaga 93 n.24
Iñago Aristo 93 n.24
Inān, M. ʿA. 21, 43 n.60
Ireland 105 n.22
Irzāq ibn Muntīl 124, 129 n.59
ʿĪsā ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Rāzī 39, 46 n.118
ʿĪsā ibn Dīnār 74, 81 n.50, 89
ʿĪsā ibn Muzāḥim 22, 23, 24, 43 n.67, 51, appendix ii
ʿĪsā ibn Shuhayd 99, 111

Isḥaq ibn ʿIsā ibn Muzāhim *Ibn al-Qūṭīya* 22, 23, 51, appendix 2
Ismāʿīl II 42 n.24
Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbdallāh 59
Ismāʿīl ibn Mūsā 129 n.60

Jaén, *Jayyān* 63, 68, 71. 73. 76
Ja'far ibn ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣūn 140, 142 n.5
Jamla bint ʿAbd al-Jabbār 102, 107 n.40
Jawdhārish, Hardales, Ardales 121, appendix v
Jews in al-Andalus 110
jibāya 123
Jordan, *al- Urdun* 63
Julian, *Yulīyān* 51–2, 57 n.23
Julian's daughter 52, 57 n.23
jund, pl. *ajnād* 39

kalb, kalbayn 127 n.35
khādim, pl. *khadam* 130
khalīfa, pl. *khulafā'* 92 n.11
khatam, seal-ring 113, 126 n.23
Khawārij, al-88, 92, 93 n.14
khāzin al-akbar/shaykh al-khuzzān 97, 99
khidma 80 n.47
khilāṣa 17
khizānat al-māl 111
khums 63 n.5
Khushanī, al-, Abū ʿAbdallāh

al-Ḥārith ibn Muḥammad 27, 33, 35, 43 n.67, 94 n.33, 104 n.5, 106 n.32, appendix iii;
Quḍāt Qurtuba 43 n.67;
Akhbār al-fuqahā' wa'l-muḥaddithīn 43 n.67
kitābat al-ʿuzmā 115
Kulthūm ibn Iyāḍ al-Qaysī 60-1
Kurayb ibn ʿUthmān ibn Khaldūn 134, 138 n.9

Lafuente y Alcántara, E. 64 n.18, 128 n.51
Laguna de la Janda 56 n.19
landalauts 54 n.8
Laqant, Fuente de Cantos (?) 52, 57 n.29
Levant, The 9
Lévi-Provençal, É. 55 n.10, 56 n.19, 64 ns.10, 18, 79 n.35, 80 ns.40, 43, 105 n.20, 106 ns.24, 29, 125 n.5, 129 n.59, 131 n.7, appendix iii
Lisbon, *al-Ushbūna* 100
Louis XIV 9,
Louis XV 19
Lubb [Lope] ibn Mandarīl 120
Lubb [Lope] ibn Mūsā 129 n.60
Lūdharīq/Ludharīq, Roderik 49, 51, 52, 56 n.21

Madina, *al-Madīna,* Medina in Arabia 80, 81 n.50, 83,appendix iv

Madīnat al-zahrā' 79 n.35
Maḥmūd ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbār 102, 107 n.40
Mā'ida, al- 63, 65 n.22
Makka, *Makka,* Mecca 33, 34, 73, 83, 101, appendix iv
Makki, M.A. 36
Málaga *Mālaqa* 63, 84 n.5
Mālik ibn Anas 74;
al-Muwaṭṭa' 80 n.48, 84
Malikite rite 56 n.18
Ma'mūn, al-, ʿAbbāsid Caliph 102
Manṣūr al-, ʿAbbāsid Caliph 73
Manṣūr al-, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir 105 n. 19
Marches 92 n.10
Marīyana (?) Mairena (?) 60, 64 n.10
Marj Rāhiṭ 70, 79 n.28
Marsā Mūsā, Mūsā's Harbour 52
Marwān I, Umayyad Caliph 77 n.5
Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam 70, 79 n.28
Marwān ibn Jahwar 120
Marwān ibn ʿUbaydallāh ibn Basīl 134
Marwān ibn Yūnus al-Jillīqī 127 n.38
marwī 82, 84 n.2
Maslma ibn al-Walīd 62
mawlā, pl. *mawālī* 92 n.11
Maymūn *al-ʿābid* 76, 81 n.55
Maysara and Qaḥṭaba 68
Maysara *al-ḥaqīr* 60
Maysūr 131
Mazarin, Cardinal 9,
Mérida, *Mārida* 52, 57 n.27, 71, 80 n.38, 84 n.1, 92 n.10, 102, 107 n.39, 127 n.38
Messiah, The 77
Mithqāl 80 n.36
Morón, *Mawrūr* 70, 74, 100
Mount of Torrox, *Jabal Ṭurrush* 123
Mu ʿādh ibn ʿUthmān ibn Hassān al-Shaʿbānī al-Jayyānī 97, 104 n.7
mu'arrikh 12, 31
Mu ʿāwīya, Umayyad Caliph 88
Mu ʿāwīya ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥaḍramī 74, 80 n.45
Mu ʿāwīya ibn Zīyād al-Lakhmī 130, 131 n.2
mubayyaḍa 17
Muḥammad The Prophet 52, 101
Muḥammad I 110-25;
his daughter 113
Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh 134, 138 n.7
Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Qūn (?) 26, 35, 44 n.78, 94 n.33
Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ayman 26, 34, 49
Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tujībī *Abū Yaḥyā* 138, 140
Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Mughīth 26
Muḥammad ibn Bashīr al-Maʿārifī 83, 85 n.11, 86, 92 n.3, 91–2
Muḥammad ibn Ḥajjāj 137, 139 n. 17

Muḥammad ibn Hāshim al-Tujībī 142 n.9
Muḥammad ibn Jahwar 130, 131 n.4
Muḥammad ibn al-Kawthar 115
Muḥammad ibn Miswār 26
Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Ishbīlī, Abū ʿAbd al-Malik 111, 126 n.13, 114-15, 117
Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Rāzī 5, 6, 21, 39
Muḥammad ibn Naṣr 123
Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad al-Murādī 49
Muḥammad ibn Salāma 133
Muḥammad ibn Salim 103
Muḥammad ibn Sharāḥīl al-Maʿārifī 97
Muḥammad ibn Sufyān 115

Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Lubāba 35, 49, 74, 76, 134
Muḥammad ibn Walīd ibn Ghānim ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān *al-buranī* 120
Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Mubarrad; *al-Kāmil 27, 30*
Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā' ibn Yaḥyā ibn Shamūs ibn ʿUmar *Ibn al-Ṭanjīya* al-Ishbīlī 34, 49
Muḥammad ibn Zīyād 109
mujashshir, al- 76, 81 n.58
Muṣʿab al-, ibn ʿImrān ibn Shafīʿ al-Ḥamdānī 83, 86
muṣalla 59, 69, 78 n.22
Muṭarrif ibn ʿAbdallāh 133–5
Muṭarrif ibn Abī'l-Rabīdu 130
Muṭarrif ibn al-Aʿrābī 73
Muṭarrif ibn Mūsā 129 n.60
Mu'min ibn Saʿīd 109
Mundhir, al-, ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 88, 93 n.17
Mundhir, al-, ibn Muḥammad 119, 123, 130–1, 133
Munt Shāqir/Shalūṭ (?), Monte Sacro (?) 119, 127 n.42
Munyat Naṣr 67, 77 n.2
Mūra, Mora 68
Mūsā ibn al-ʿĀṣī 133
Mūsā ibn Ḥudayr 97, 99, 102
Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Zīyād al-Judhāmī 138 n.2
Mūsā ibn Mūsā 93 n.24, 124;
his daughter 24
Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr 50, 52–4, 57 n.27
Mūsā ibn Qasī 100
Mūsā ibn Sālim al-Khawlānī 89
Mūsā ibn Zīyād al-Judhāmī al-Shadhūnī 133
musawwada 17
muwallad 92 n.7
Muẓāhir uncle of ʿUmar ibn Ḥafsūn 120, 121

Naḍar al-, ibn Salāma 133
Naṣr, Abū'l-Fatḥ Naṣr 112, 126 n.16
Nafdūra 60

Nāfiʿ ibn Abī Naʿīm 74
Nākūr Nuqūr 101, 106 n.28
naptha 102, 107 n.36
nāqis 17
Narbonne *Urbūna* 61, 64 n.17, 72, 80 n.40, 83, 85 n.7
Nība, Niba 70
Nichols, J.M.;
translation of 1975 22
Niebla, Labla 72, 72, 119
North Africa 50, 52, 59, 60, 62, 67, 68, 69, 89, 101

Ocaña Jiménez, M. 84 n.6
Osconoba, *Ushkūnuba* 119

Palestine, *Filasṭīn* 63
Pamplona, *Banbalūna* 140
Parauta 128 n.44
Pentecost, yawm *al-ʿanṣarai* 141
Persian and Urdu translations 43 n.63
Poley/Aguilar, *Bulāy* 139 n.18

qādī al-ʿajam, chief Christian judge 50, 55 n.12
qāḍī al-jund 92 n.3, 110
qādī al-jamāʿa 92 n. 3
Qāḍī, al-, ʿIyāḍ, ʿIyāḍ ibn Mūsā;
Tarīb al-madārik 29, 43 n.67
Qaḥṭānids 62, 68, 70, 72
qāʾid al-jaysh 119
qalam 89, 93 n.19
Qaʿnab 102
Qanbānīya, al-, the Campiña de Córdoba 123
qarrāʾ/qurrāʾ pl.-ūn 79 n.34
Qarṭājanna, Cartagena 52, 57 n.25
Qasī, Cassius/Casio 39, 93 n.24, 94
Qāsim 113
Qāsim ibn Aṣbagh 25, 26
Qaṣṣābīn al- 103
Qawmis / Qūmis 11, 37, 76;
Qawmis ibn Antunīyān al-Naṣrānī ibn Yulīyāna al-Naṣrānīya 110, 115, 126 n.28
Qinnisrīn 63
Quairouan, *Qayrawān* 60
Quirtas de Moafer, *Kintush Muʿāfir* 100
Qurʾān of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān 110,appendix iv
Quʾrān, copy of 113,appendix iv
Quraysh 14, 80 n.45, 112, 115, 130

Rāḥ 77 n.5
raqq 69, 93 n.19
raṣīf 103
Rayya/u 59, 63 n.1, 69, 119, 120, 128 n.45

Reinaud, JṬ 8, 19;
Invasions des Sarrazins en France 2, 43 n.48
Renaudot, Abbé 8;
Catalogus manscriptorum arabicum 42 n.21
Ribera, J. 37;
translation of 1926 22
Rivandaneyra Press, Madrid 20
Rome *R*ūm*ā* 76

Rumulu, Romulus/Rómolu or *Ajilal Waqla,* Aquila/Aguila/Achila 22, 49, 54 n.3
Rūṭī al-, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid 137

Sābiq ibn Mālik ibn Yazīd 70
ṣāḥib al-ḥashm 123
ṣāḥib al-khay 135
ṣāḥib al-madīna 107 n.43
ṣāḥib al-qalam al-aʿlā 115
ṣāḥib al-rasā'il 71, 102, 107 n.42
ṣāḥib al-ṣalāh 122
ṣāḥib al-shurṭa 25
Ṣāḥib al-thaghr 116
Saʿd / Saʿīd ibn Ḥassān 74, 81 n.50
Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda al-Anṣārī 72
Saʿdūn 113–14
Saʿdūn ibn Fatḥ al-Surunbāqī 118, 127 n.39
Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Salām 133
Saʿīd ibn Abī Hind 84
Saʿīd ibn Jābir 26
Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad ibn Bashīr 86, 98
Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān al-Jūdī 131 n.5
Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān, Abū Khālid, ibn Ḥabīb al-Ghāfiqī al-Ballūṭī 97, 109, 110
Saavedra, E. 20
safaṭ 73
ṣafāyā'l-mulūk 37, 49
Ṣāliḥ ibn Manṣūr 106 n.29
Ṣamḥ, al-, ibn Mālik al-Khawlānī 59, 63 ‘n.7
San Cristobal, *al-Busharnal/Basharnal* 119, 128 n.43
Sancho I 140, 142 n.2
Santander 92 n.5
Santarem, *Shantarīn* 127 n.39
ṣaqāliba pl. *ṣaqlibī* 92 n.11
Sāra, Sarah, al-Qūṭīya 22–3, 50–1, 30–1
Saragossa, *Saraqusṭa* 68, 73, 110, 129 ns.60, 61, 138;
Bāb al-ʿAmirī 68
Saʿsaʿ al-Shāmī 80 n.48
ṣaṭḥ 118, 137, 127 n.34
Sayyid Abīhi al-Zāhid al-Murādī 26
Sayyida/Sisibira, Sisiberto 22
Secunda, *Shaqunda* 49, 67, 73, 89, 116
settlement of the Syrians 63

Seville, *Ishbīlīya* 26, 50, 51, 52, 53, 68, 118, 134;
dār *al-ṣinā'a* 101;
kanīsat *al-mā'* 111;
mosque of *Rubīna*/church of Santa Rufina 53, 57 n.34;
walls 100
Seville, great mosque /*jāmi' Ibn 'Adabbas* 100, 101, 105 n.20
Sezgin, F. 54 n.2
Shadūna Sidonia 52, 63, 68, 69, 70, 78 n.10, 123, 133, 134, 138 n.2
Shaqyā al-Miknāsī 39
sharḥ 17
shayra 103, 108 n.44
Shu'ūbīya movement 81 n.60
Shuhayd 72
sijill 55 n.9, 60, 139 n.19
Simonet, F.J. 54 n.3
Sufyān/Mahrān ibn 'Abd Rabbihi 99, 104 n.17
Sulaymān, Umayyad Caliph 53, 59
Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān I 74, 83
Sulaymān ibn Aswad al-Ballūṭī 110, 130
Sulaymān ibn Muḥammad ibn Wānsūs 133
Sulavmān ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz *Ibn al-Qūṭīya* 23, appendix ii
Ṣumayl al-, Abū Jawshan, ibn Ḥātim 'al-Kilābī 67, 68, 69, 77

Ṭabbā', al-, 'Abdallāh Anīs 5, 22;
edition of 1957 21
Tablada, *Ṭablāṭa, Talyāṭa* 119, 127 n.41
Tagus/Rio Tajo, *Tājo* 102
Ṭāhir ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz 26
Ṭāhir ibn Abī Hārūn 99
Ṭālūt ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Ma'āfirī 89–91
Tammām ibn 'Alqama al-Wazīr 37;
Urjūza 36, 37
Tangiers, *Ṭanja* 51, 57 n.23, 60, 61, 63
Ṭarīf *al-Walīdjān*...? 120, 128 n.49
Ta'rīkh 10, 25
Ṭāriq ibn Zīyād 49, 50, 51, 52, 53
Ṭarūb 112, 113
Ṭawfīq al-, Press 1,
Tha'laba ibn Salāma al-'Āmilī 60, 62, 82
Tha'laba ibn 'Ubayd al-Judhāmī 51, 55 n.16
Thubna / Tubna, Ancient *Thubnae* 60
Tiaret, *Tāhart* 120
Tocina *Ṭushshāna* 70
Toledo, *Ṭulayṭula* 49, 50, 52, 72, 88;
Jabal 'Amrūs 87;
al-Jiyyārīn 87;
temple 51, 56 n.21;
wāqi'at al-ḥufra 87–8, 93 n.12
Torrox *Ṭurrush* 68, 77 n.6
Tortosa *Ṭurṭūsha* 72

Treaty of Theodimir/Tudmīr 39
Tudela, *Tuṭīla* 124
Tudmīr, Murcia 135
Tujībīya, al- 121

ʿUbaydallāh ibn Abd al-ʾAzīz 123
ʿUbaydallāh ibn al-Ḥabḥāb 60
ʿUbaydallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī ʿAmir 135
ʿUbaydallāh ibn Qarlumān ibn Badr *al-dākhil* 97-8
ʿUbaydallāh ibn Yaḥyā 134
ʿUmar ibn ʿAdabbas 105 n.20
ʿUmar ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Murādī 60
ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Umayyad Caliph 59
ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Ibrāhīm *Ibn al-Qūṭīya* 36,appendix ii
ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣ ibn Abī Tammām 26
ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣūn, Abū Ḥafṣ Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn 119-21, 130, 136-7
ʿUmayya ibn ʿIsā ibn Shuhayd 117-8, 121-2
ʿUmayya ibn Yazīd 69, 78 n.13
ʿUmayr ibn Saʿīd al-Lakhmī 23, 51,appendix ii
Umm ʿĀṣim,/Aylū, Egilona 53, 57 n.35
ʿUqba ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Sallūlī 60
ʿUqba ibn Nāfiʾ al-Fihrī 57 n.31
ʿ*uqda* 135, 139 n.13
ʿUrayfa 72
ʿ*ushr*, pl ʿ*ushūr* 127 n.37, 118
Uṭbī, al-, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Aziz al-ʿUtbī 74, 81 n.50
ʿUthmān ibn Abī Nisʿa al-Khathʿamī 60, 63
ʿUthmān ibn Muḥammad I 141, 142 n.10

Valls i; Subirà, O. 2,
Vallvé Bermejo, J. 42 n.45, 54 n.8, 56 n.19, 57 n.25, 128 n.44, appendix v;
Vandals 54 n.2
Vikings, *Majūs* 105 n.22;
other meaning 105 n.21;
invasion of 230/844 100-1;
244/858 101-2

Wahballāh ibn Maymūn 81 n.5
wakāla 111
wakīl 126 n.26
wālī pl. *wulā* 59;
wulāt al-madīna 103
waṣīf pl. *wuṣufa* *137*
waṣīy 134
Walīd I, al-, Umayyad Caliph 25, 37, 46 n.112, 49, 50, 53, 105 n.23
Walīd, al-, ibn Ghānim 117
Walīd, al-, ibn al-Ḥakam 92 n.9
Wansleb/en 9,
Waqqās, al-, ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kinānī 63

Wazīr, al-, al-Ghassānī, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb 43 n.58;
Riḥlat al-wazīr fī iftikāk al-asīr 43 n.58

yad, group, formation 106 n.25
Yaḥya ibn al-Ḥakam al-Bakrī *al-ghazā* 146 n. 109;
Uri ūza fī fatḥ al-Andalus 46 n.109
Yaḥyā ibn Muʿmmar al-Lāhānī/al-Ilhānī al-Ishbīlī 97, 101
Yaḥyā ibn Muḍar al-Yaḥṣubī 89
Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Laythī 74, 81 n.50, 89, 97, 103 n.2
Yaḥyā ibn Yazīd al-Tujībī 74
Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī 26, 44 n.73;
Muʿjam al-udabā' 26, 28
Yazīd II, Umayyad Caliph 60, 69
Yazīd ibn Khātim al-Muhlab 61
Yukhāmir ibn ʿUthmān ibn Hassān al-Shaʿbānī al-Jayyānī 97, 104 n.7
Yulīyān, Julian 51-2;
his daughter 52
Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72;
his daughters 71
Yūsuf ibn Basīl 114
Yūsuf ibn Bukht 68, 75, 76, 78 n.13, 99

Zāb, River Zab 60, 64 n.13
Zaʿwāq, al-, Azaguac/Alcalá de Guadaira (?) 100, 106 n.27
Ziryāb, Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Nāfi 102-3, 107 n.41
Zīyād ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Lakhmī *Shabaṭūn* 83, 84 n.5
Zīyād ibn ʿAmr al-Judhāmī 68, 78 n.10
Zīyād ibn al-Nābigha al-Tamīmī 53

VISIT...